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CHRONICLES

OF

THE BUILDERS

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH

V.1, pt. 2

Historical Character Study

BY

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western Europe and the eastern United States. Trade and industries were thrown out of their channels by the sudden diversion of laborers, craft, and shipping to meet the pressing call, and society was seriously inconvenienced by the secession of so large a proportion of its youth and sinews. The period was ripe for a great movement, with Europe in the throes of revolutionary fever, and the North American continent roused by the late transfer of important territories, and the disbanding of soldiers, while steam was shortening the highways by sea and land.

From Maine to Texas resounded the noise of preparations for the journey. The excitement began in the winter of 1848–9, when the overland route was impassable; and so the currents turned to the sea-ports, to seek the way round Cape Horn, or across the different isthmuses. For the year ending 1850 over eleven hundred vessels were reported at San Francisco, fully one-half American, and the influx by sea continued so large for years as to necessitate the doubling of the Panamá steamer service, and the establishment of a special passenger line by way of Nicaragua. In the spring new routes were opened across the continent.

Thus came in 1849 alone a hundred thousand people, sufficient to lift California at a bound from an insignificant colony to an important state, with camps and towns, well-beaten roads, and steam-furrowed rivers; and to place the federal union a half century forward in commercial enterprise.

San Francisco was raised from a hamlet to a bustling city, from a local town to the metropolis of the coast. Her position at the entrance to the great river system of the country, leading to the gold region, and her judicious adoption of a well-known name, guided to her wharves the in-pouring fleets with their crowded passengers and cargoes. Thus was assured her future. The growing confidence in her permanence, and the frequent conflagrations, led

to a prompt transformation of the scattered tents into substantial buildings. With an improved fire department, and cheap lumber, the predilection for wooden houses was freely gratified. The hilly nature of the site, and the shelving shore, suggested the filling in of the cove behind the wharves; and so hills were tumbled into the bay, and the area for building widened, although at the sacrifice of drainage and of picturesqueness. Within three years the place took rank with the leading mercantile entrepôts of the world. It was a Herculean achievement, in the face of discouraging obstructions, and a constant struggle with political corruption and social disorder. Twice the people rose to purify the moral atmosphere of the city, and in 1856 the young metropolis emerged a model of wise and economic management.

As the chief seat of manufactures, trade, and society, she presented in miniature the progress and fluctuations of the state. She felt the blows inflicted by a growing agriculture upon the import trade; by the Fraser river mining excitement, though more than balanced by the tributary Nevada developments; by the transcontinental railway, which cut off much of her trade by distribution along its route, and undermined many of the industries started by the war for the union; and by the financial crisis of 1876–7, with the attendant depression and riots. Since then the ever returning wave of prosperity has risen higher and higher, impelled by the several agricultural and horticultural developments, and the augmenting concentration of tribute-bearing railway lines. Assured land titles and hill-climbing cable cars added their quota to the prosperity which was sustained by the growing manufactures and trade, the latter finding here a concentrating point between the north and south, the Orient and the interior. Sea-girt and enthroned upon her seven hills, here was a new Rome, whose far-reaching influence swept round the earth, obstructed neither by seas nor mountains.

The first two years of the era of gold present a peculiar and rapid development, the result of an elect community of intellectual and energetic men, thus abnormally thrown together, and aided by the most effective appliances of the age. Started and sustained by innate manhood and self-reliance, its advance was marked by upturned ravines, and streams diverted from their course; by a wilderness transformed; by the rise of towns in a day; by the mute eloquence of many an abandoned site; and by the bustling traffic along every road and stream.

Perceiving their importance in the federal body politic, the people, within a short time after their gathering, framed a state constitution, and although congress had taken no action, they elected a governor and other officials, to whom the military commander relinquished the administration. Senators then went to Washington, and aided in procuring national recognition and admission as a state.

With the decadence of mining, business sought another field, and there arose the agricultural industry which proved of surpassing importance. When the Fraser river excitement carried away its thousands, overspreading the skies of San Francisco with gloom, many who had unbounded faith in her future stood by to give confidence and profit by the sure return of prosperity. During the union war, in hastening which California had been in some degree instrumental by securing admission as a free state in face of slave-holding opposition, the people displayed their loyalty by turning from the lately dominant democratic party, and giving men and money to the cause. The reward came in a large immigration of refugees, who in this secluded nook sought shelter from war, and assisted to build up the manufactures fostered by interrupted freight communication with the east.

The inflictions of the drought of 1862–4 were off-

set by the mining output, and by prosecuting the more secure branches of agriculture, as grain and fruit-growing instead of stock-raising; and the havoc created by the transcontinental railway to incipient manufactures was more than atoned for by bringing nearer eastern men and markets, promoting immigration, and building up a number of way-side settlements, even at the temporary expense of San Francisco and her trade channels. The Nevada silver mines poured their wealth into the lap of the bay city; but in the train followed extravagance and gambling, all the more ruinous by reason of its respectability, and the panic waiting on collapse. The lesson was not wasted. Rash speculation yielded to prudent investments, and a glorious period of prosperity enriched the entire state.

A characteristic self-reliance called early Californians to impromptu organizations, alike for the performance of great tasks and for government. Original as well as practical, on all lines of thought they turned to fundamental principles for starting points. They believed in popular sovereignty as superior to tradition or precedent, and regarded law as the voice of the people, which they were ready to do without if necessary, or to modify to suit circumstances. They framed rules for camps and mines which received the sanction of world-wide acceptance. They looked upon officials as servants for executing the popular will, and considered it proper to enforce observance of duty. This right to watch and punish villainy formed the actuating principle of the vigilance committees, which in California attained their loftiest proportions, fit to command the admiration and imitation of all.

Preoccupied with mining and trading, the respectable portion of the community gave little heed to local and judicial administration. Observing this neglect, the growing vicious element yielded to its instincts, until crime stalked openly abroad, shielded

by corrupt judges and parasitic politicians. Twice the smouldering indignation of the people of San Francisco burst into a flame, first in 1851, and finally in 1856. Taking the law into their own hands they executed the more atrocious villains, exiled several score of convicts, vagrants, and ballot stuffers, and frightened into flight a cloud of other birds of prey. The lesson was impressed upon the minds of public servants; a reform party was organized, which for years assured an honest administration; and San Francisco, purified, became famed as one of the best governed among cities. Her example was followed throughout the state with the most beneficent results.

Another phase of California abnormities crops out in filibustering. The United States inherited from European ancestry the thirst for Spanish treasures; but rising above the vulgar pillage which tarnished the daring deeds of the early freebooters, she struck for the sources whence those treasures flowed; and so Texas, New Mexico, and California were successively slipped into her fold. Herein lay to many an affirmation of the doctrine of manifest destiny, of United States expansion perhaps to Tierra del Fuego. Prophets rose to enunciate the gospel. Special attention was accorded to them in California, filled as it was with adventurers stirred by the gambling spirit, and by a mania for roaming, and intensified by the belief in auriferous deposits to the south. They were trained alike for fighting and for wandering; expeditions were constantly forming for opening new mining fields, for swooping down upon some Indian ranchería ripe for butchering, or for descent upon some foreigner's camp, rendered obnoxious by its good fortune in finding rich claims.

Such abuses led in 1851–2 to the departure of a large force of Frenchmen, under arrangements with the Mexican government for defending the Sonora frontier against Apaches, and developing mineral resources. True to her instincts and habits, Mexico

broke faith with the adventurers, and in their despair the company, under the leadership of Count de Raousset-Boulbon, performed a brilliant coup d'état, the fruits of which, however, were spoiled by the discord fomented by Mexican intrigues.

The undertaking served to show the weakness of the Spanish-American states, and to encourage Anglo-American imitators. The most famous of these was William Walker, known as the gray-eyed man of destiny, who after a fiasco in Lower California, redeemed his fame as a leader by a series of dashing victories in Nicaragua. Success blinded his prudence; he clouded his achievements by numerous outrages, and roused an indignant people to consign him to a pirate's fate.

The scheming factions at Washington did not find sufficient attractions in these ventures to induce the government to uphold them, and Mexico joined in inflicting a lesson so revolting in its severity as to check further invasions. Carried away by unscrupulous ambition, abettors in these undertakings became oblivious to the abhorrent crimes, here cloaked by political plans and false aphorisms, of theft and enslavement, slaughter and devastation, all committed in the name of liberty, and veiled by the glamour of romance.

The greater part of the in-pouring migration during the flush times passed to the mining region, chiefly to the famed American river, thence to follow the guiding star of gilded rumor to promising fields; or to swell the train of rushes, which seeking a mythic gold lake or a metal mountain, filled up one district after another, from the bank of the Gila to the borders of Oregon. On their heels stepped closely the caravans of the trader, prepared to form the solitary business street of the budding camp, to open trails through the spreading districts, and to pave the way for settlement.

It was an attractive life, in free communion with

nature, unfettered by conventionalities, and with fascinating vistas of adventure and enrichment to gild the monotony of toil. The illusion was a necessary stimulant, for the average yield to each miner had by 1852 fallen to two dollars a day, which implied a bare subsistence to the luckless majority, after deducting the gains of the fortunate few. No wonder then that desertion set in from their ranks for agricultural and other industries, as well as for rum and swift perdition.

Those who conformed to the varying demands of circumstances continued to wrest substantial rewards from the field. They were men who could meet difficulties with energy, and surmount obstacles with happy devices. When the immortal pan and rocker failed to draw enough from the skimmed placers, improved machinery and methods were applied, as sluice and hose, dredger and flume, stamp-mill and quicksilver reduction, to cover large areas with the help of a few hands, and at less than a hundredth part of the former expenditure. Placers were supplemented by hydraulic and quartz mines, and ground hitherto rejected as worthless was reopened to yield fortunes.

California's inventions created a transformation in gold mining, and brought about a revival of the industry in different parts of the world, guided by laws of admirable simplicity and effectiveness from the same source, and by her pioneers, who poured out over the coast and across the seas to open new fields, and lend their skill, wealth, and energy for the unfolding of many more industries.

The state herself found auxiliary resources in coal, quicksilver, oil, and other mineral products, which built up flourishing villages and opened trade channels; yet she will ever remain indebted to gold for ringing in the nations, and opening a prosperity which has since struck deeper roots in richer soil.

Along the path of the advancing gold-diggers sprang up camps and towns, founded by men who,

though unaccustomed to subduing the wilderness or to city-building, were, nevertheless, trained in organized proceedings and political movements. In meetings formed on the spur of the moment rules and constitutions would be framed of admirable tenor, and by the same show of hands, or decisive ayes, disputes were settled and sentences passed.

Many of the camps were creations of a day, which faded away with the decaying mines. Others survived the misfortunes of minor tributary settlements, to attain the dignity of commercial centres or county seats, and in time to turn with the changing industries for support to agriculture and manufactures. Some became noted for their mills, factories, or canneries; some prided themselves on educational institutions, or sought to attract attention as health or pleasure resorts. With the increasing traffic, several towns rose at eligible outlets to secure entrepôt trade, or as heads of navigation for river or coast trade. But of all the towns projected in California not one in ten had any existence except on paper.

Railways came in time to determine countless destinies, dooming to decay the less enterprising settlements, while exalting others from the condition of petty stations to centres of trade. San Diego lived and grew in spite of the malign influence of railway men, owing to her harbor and climate; while Vallejo, which once dared to measure itself with the City at the Gate, was shorn by monopoly of her prospective glory. A similar early disappointment fell to the lot of Benicia, both of these towns being deluded in their aspirations to become the seat of state government. The capital passed from them, as it had from Monterey and San José, to fix itself at Sacramento, whose prospects stand assured as a railway centre, and arbiter of the great northern valley, as is Stockton of the southern.

Counties underwent similar transformations. Soon after the first rush of population to the Sierra slope, a

reflux set in for the bay and coast region. Then with the increasing wheat culture, the movement turned to the centre of the great valley, accelerated thereto by the disastrous drought of 1862–4, which cut short the pastoral prospects of several districts, especially in the south, forcing them to have recourse to irrigation. The cost of water retarded the cultivation of cereals, which vineyards and orange groves supplanted. The fame of the south spread as a terrestrial paradise, and an inflowing migration lifted the region to unparalleled prosperity. The example led to the transformation of several interior so-called deserts into blooming gardens; and once more the current of population gradually returned to the long neglected auriferous slope, and harvested golden fruit instead of golden nuggets.

The evolution of settlement parallels in a measure that of agriculture, which in California presents three great successive periods, the pastoral, cereal, and horticultural. The spontaneous products of the soil sufficed for the aborigines. The conquering Spaniards taught them to till fields and plant orchards, wherewith to sustain the military-ecclesiastical establishments, and to encourage the formation of colonies; but the assignment of farming to a low race stamped it as degrading in the eyes of the settlers; and yielding to their proud as well as indolent disposition, they preferred stock-raising which might be prosecuted largely on horseback. While long circumscribed by the narrow policy of the government, this industry rose in time, under the liberating influence of revolution and independence, to become a basis for foreign trade, and to stamp the province as a pastoral region.

Anglo-Americans introduced superior methods, and fostered by the high prices of the flush times, gardening and farming assumed respectability, and within a few years the proportion of a fast-growing source of export. The discovery of the peculiar advantages of the great valleys, especially the San Joaquin, for the

cultivation of grain, increased the product, which soon lifted California to the front rank among wheat regions. The blow inflicted by the drought of 1862–4 reduced pastoral interests to a subordinate position, principally as an adjunct to farming, but with improved breeding which brought into fame the sheep and horses of the country.

In conformity with the energy and exuberance of Californian disposition and habits, operations are conducted on a large scale. The farms are large, and machinery is of the most advanced and combined form for cheap and rapid plowing, seeding, and harvesting.

The increased appreciation of California fruit and wines has at last matured the several petty excitements for these industries into a lasting and substantial development. For this the climate is particularly favorable, as it is also for the glutinous and self-curing grain, insuring rapidity of growth, heavy crops, and fine qualities. While of decided advantage to the greater part of the state, the dry summer is too severe for a redundant vegetation in the south; but the absence of a heavy fall is overcome by irrigation, which assures crops, as well as often doubling and trebling them. The new era implies subdivision of grants into small and wealth-producing holdings, with a farming community noted for its respectability and intelligence, intent upon creating here a semi-tropic paradise.

In common with other industries, manufactures suffered from a lack of enterprise, and an illiberal policy. The high prices during the flush times presented an obstacle, to which had to be added the irregular habits and inexperience of artisans, and the lack of hard wood and cheap coal and iron. On the other hand came decided advantages in the distance of foreign markets, high freights, the demand for repairs and urgent orders, which provided training, means, and capacity for a gradual preparation of stock for the trade. Cheap Chinese labor proved of value

in starting and maintaining several branches of industry, and in paving the way for others; and the union war gave an impetus to numerous enterprises, although the transcontinental railway undermined a proportion of them.

The possession of tallow, wool, and hides favored the establishment of soap factories, woollen-mills and tanneries, the latter aided by the excellent quality of our oak bark. The production of good wheat led to the grinding of flour for export. The vast operations in farming called for peculiar plows and harvesters. The demand for fish for canning gave employment to a fleet of boats and sea-going vessels. The expense of bringing beer from a distance, and the possession of good hops, gave rise to breweries, which again gave employment to coopers and glass factories. Good fruit and early vegetables sustained a number of canneries, and also several vinegar factories, sugar refineries, and box factories. New mining methods called for special machinery which could be made here alone, and valuable forests gave rise to saw and planing mills, flumes, and other contrivances. All help to increase settlement and traffic, and many more branches of industry are awaiting cheaper labor and trained hands, the increase of raw material and adjuncts, to enter a field for which support is promised by interior and adjoining tributary countries.

Brought thus face to face with the gorgeous and mystic east, the circle of civilization is completed, which, if earlier accomplished, might have engrafted in California the barbaric splendor of Asia on to the more refined enlightenment of Europe. Almost as rapidly as rose that fabled race of mailed men, celebrated in Bœotian story, a new and unique nation is here springing into existence, having its home in a climate for the most part as stimulating as that of Scandinavia, interspersed with spots as lethargic as that of Bœotia itself. United with the advanced present are phases of æsthetics which obtained only in the

remote imposing past; slumbering humanity we see to-day driven before the fierce enginery of science, yet enduring with all the philosophy of the stoic, and enjoying with the taste of the Sybarite and the relish of the Epicurean.

The thoughtful student of the history of material and intellectual development in California, during the first century of her existence under civilizing influences, cannot fail to observe that by far the most important episode was the popular uprising under the organization commonly called the Committee of Vigilance. And as the chief of that organization, William Tell Coleman, was likewise chief among merchants, chief among those who loved order and good citizenship, it is most fitting that his biography should fill this place, and that he should be forever held up to the present and future generations as the ideal man of an ideal movement.

There had been before this in various times and places public manifestations of political and social power inherent in every people fairly emerged from savagism, but there had never before in the world been any such demonstration as that made by the citizens of San Francisco in the year 1856. It was nothing like the feudal confederation of the knights of Germany in the fifteenth century, nor the secret tribunal of Venice, nor the French council of five hundred, nor the Spanish council of Castile, nor the holy brotherhood of Aragon, nor the vehmgericht of Westphalia, nor the burlaw of Scotland, nor Robespierre's committee of public safety, nor the witenagemót, or great national council of England, abolished by William the Conqueror; nothing at all like the hanging law of Halifax, Galway, or Lynchburg. Here was a people intelligent, free, absolutely self-governing, executing as well as making their laws; and though doing much as they pleased in every respect, it pleased them to obey the laws which they

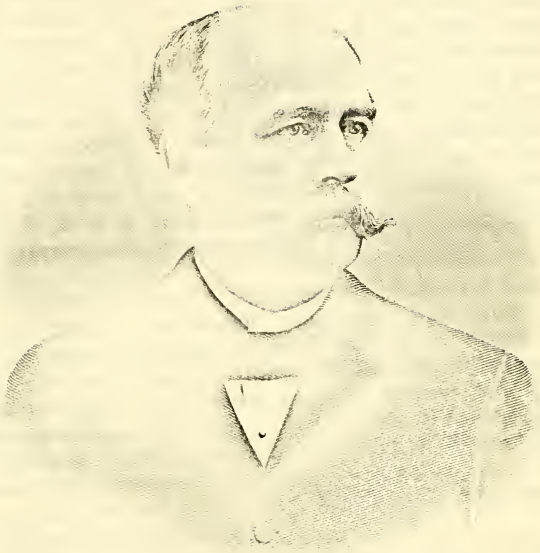
made and executed. This was the rule, though there might be now and then an exception to it. If laws were not obeyed, if punishment followed not quickly on the heels of crime, why spend time and money in making laws, building prisons, and running a government? Moreover, in this very year of 1856, they were perfectly satisfied with all the forms and principles of their government; they loved their institutions; and though they did not wish to break the law they were compelled to enforce its execution.

The vigilance committee was an organization far removed in its nature from mobocracy or lynch-law. Its ideas were revolutionary, not rebellious; its acts sprang from impulses of right and reason, and not of brute force, though the latter might be temporarily employed for the re-enthronement of right and legitimate authority unjustly overturned.

And not only were these merchants, mechanics, of 1856, lovers of law and promoters of peace, but they held almost as superstitious a veneration for legal courts and formulas as did those who lived by the law, and manipulated it to suit their purposes. But intellectual emancipation was rapid in those days, especially when not conflicting with pecuniary interest. It would not do for lawyers and judges to sanction the breaking of the law for righteous purposes by others, no matter how often they themselves might choose to wink at irregularities for the accomplishment of base objects, else were their occupation gone.

William Tell Coleman was born in Harrison county, Kentucky, February 29, 1824. His ancestors, who were English and Irish, and well conditioned, came to Virginia in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries. William Coleman, the earliest direct ancestor of whom there is any record, arrived in Boston in 1671; branches of the family extended into Pennsylvania and Virginia. Henry Coleman, great-grandfather, was born in Virginia, December 12, 1744, and his wife, Mary Ann Hutchinson,

January 22, 1748. He was a planter in Virginia, a man of fortune, and a soldier in the revolution; moved to Kentucky in 1788, and acquired large tracts of land. His homestead was in Harrison county. He was a prominent member of the convention which formed the constitution of the state. At his death, February 29, 1808, he divided his estates among many descendants, some of the lands still being in the family. The grandfather, William Coleman, was born in Virginia, December 5, 1768, married Ann Wood, in Mason county, Kentucky, in 1798, and lived and died on his portion of the estate. Napoleon B. Coleman, their first-born, and the father of William T., was born in Mason county, July 11, 1799, received an academic education, and began the study of law at an early age. He became prominent in his profession, and was an active politician of the Jacksonian school. He was also a civil engineer and the surveyor of his county; being, however, largely occupied in public life, he gave but little personal attention to this office. He stood in the front rank among his contemporaries at the bar, and was the leading lawyer in his district. He was a charming speaker, a man of letters, scholarly in his tastes, and possessed of wide general information. He was intellectual, laborious, and earnest, altogether a strong character, and was looked upon in the state as a man of unusual promise. At the time of his death, which occurred August 11, 1833, when he was thirty-four years old, he was the accepted nominee for congress from his district, which was more of a distinction then than at the present time. He impressed those with whom he came in contact as being well-poised, self-contained, and decided in his convictions. A methodist in faith, he was fairly religious; and he was actuated at all times, in his relations with others, by a refined sense of honor. His disposition was kind and sympathetic. He was high-spirited and sensitive, but dignified and urbane in expression and manner. He was generous to a fault, more disposed to



Fm. Holman

consider his family, his friends, and his neighbors first, and himself second—too open-hearted and free with his money, ever ready to help the poor, to lend without security, and to indorse his neighbors' notes. He had no misgiving as to his ability to take care of himself, though this course often embarrassed and finally impoverished him. When he died his estate was greatly involved, and with the exception of some property in litigation, was all swept away. It is not singular that one of such intelligence and amiability should have many warm friends. His personal appearance was handsome and agreeable. He lacked only a little of being five feet eleven inches tall; was well built and graceful, and weighed one hundred and seventy-five pounds, which also his son William weighed when grown.

In 1821 he married the daughter of John Chinn, whose family was directly connected with that of Washington, and many of the old families of Virginia; that is to say, Raleigh Chinn, William T. Coleman's mother's great-grandfather, married Esther Ball, the elder daughter of Colonel Thomas Ball, of Lancaster. Augustine Washington married Mary, her youngest sister, and George Washington was their son. In the traditions of the family, Washington was very often called cousin George.

William T. Coleman's mother was a woman of pronounced character, very handsome, tall, with a fine physique and noble presence. Her family were leading people, and devout baptists; and she reared her children in the baptist faith. Parents were much more strict then than now, but she was not over-rigid; her disposition was sympathetic and tender. William, a precocious, sprightly, aggressive boy, was fairly indulged. Very self-possessed, and having a retentive memory, he got a number of speeches by heart almost before he had done learning his letters, and being called upon occasionally to declaim at hotels and other public places, he acquired village fame as a juvenile

orator. Among his earliest recollections was the birth of a younger brother, De Witt Clinton, when he was four years old, and the election of General Jackson in 1828. At the age of six years he was sent to school, as were all the children. The family lived at Cynthiana, but spent much of the time on their own farm and the grandfather's a few miles away. William, thus early put to books, went through the ordinary curriculum of the neighborhood schools, including a course in Latin and the almost daily castigation which he received rather stoically. Among his associates he was kindly and genial, yet independent, alert, and efficient in self-defence. The few fights he had established his prowess, and gave him immunity from much of the tyranny that boys of less grit and decision have to put up with. At the age of seven years he fell desperately in love with a little maid of eight, who sat next to him in school. The affair became the talk of all the boys and girls. One day, after considerable courtship, it was reported that he was going to her father's house at evening twilight to bear away his bride. He had never seen a marriage, and thought that all he had to do was to take the loved one to his home. Donning his best, he went to her father's house, and told him he had come to get his wife. The father tried to coax him off with sweetmeats, but he would none of them. "I have come for my wife," he said. Again the father politely put him off. The beautiful girl was expecting him, and ready to go. With patience at last exhausted, the boy crossed the street, and with brickbats smashed the only plate-glass window ever known in that village. He was severely punished for this piece of savagery, and thereby effectually cured of his infatuation. He could never speak to or look at his dulcinea again.

On the death of his father, William's maternal grandfather took him into his family. He worked on the farm, and worked hard. At the age of thir-

teen he did the work of a man, excepting the heaviest tasks. It was a regular Kentucky farm, on which were raised grain, stock, hemp, and tobacco. He was a dashing young fellow, a favorite with the family and neighbors; and what people usually called a promising boy. He was fond of reading, particularly history, reading the history of Rome almost entirely by firelight, often lying on his back to catch the flickering rays. Entering Sunday-school, he was given as his first lesson some pages of the book of Matthew to memorize. The next Sunday he recited the whole book, having committed it to memory during the week, mostly while holding the plough with one hand and his testament in the other. At a quilting party he took occasion to criticise a preacher in the neighborhood, who, he thought, did not know how to preach. "Could you do better?" asked an aunt. "I think I could," was the reply. "Try," said she. Opening the bible, he poured forth his thoughts with fluency and fervor. It cost him a severe flogging at the hand of his grandfather, who wrongly attributed the effort to irreverence. This was his final attempt at preaching.

Two winters at school carried this now well-grown boy, who was vigorous in health, clear-minded, extremely industrious, and often honored with special mention and a gift as one of the first pupils in the school, well along through the usual studies, and into algebra and rhetoric. Naturally a leader, he took his place at the head of his comrades almost unconsciously, his influence over them exciting the jealousy of his teacher. Among other pastimes he formed a military company and drilled it every day. While on the farm his grandfather gave him a little orphaned colt, for which he built a stable of fence rails, roofing it with hemp-stocks. He took good care of the animal, and trained it so that it became a fast pacer, finally selling it for $200, a large price for

a young horse in those days. This was the first stone in the foundation of his fortune.

Young Coleman grew up an expert horseman; active, strong, and fearless. On the farm there was a finely formed cream-colored horse, but ill-trained, and so vicious that no one wished to ride him or work him. Coleman solicited the privilege. He would play Alexander to this Bucephalus. In a season or two, he became known as the most skilful and boldest hurdle-racer and steeple-chaser of the whole country around. Rider and horse, both lusty and game, kept closer to the hounds in a fox-chase than others; always in the lead, they were favorites in every field.

There was an uncle, Marcus Chinn, chief engineer of certain railroads in Illinois, who had several times written for William to come to him, and he now concluded to go. Giving his sister $150 of his money, he bought a trunk for $1.50, put into it his two suits of clothes, and with $50 in his pocket started off. He travelled alone—stage to Louisville, steamer to St Louis, and thence to Jacksonville, where he made his home at the house of Porter Clay, brother of Henry Clay. He was assigned to duty, first as rodman, afterward to carry the levels, and such was his proficiency that he received $500 dollars a year, an unusual salary for a youth at that day. And his earnings were not lessened when, in 1840, he went to St Louis, where good introductions brought him into friendly relations with worthy people who gave him a position, first in an insurance office, and afterward in the lumber business. These are the first of his self-helpful efforts in a career of far-reaching activity and influence. There were some longings ungratified, of course; he would have gone to West Point and become a soldier; he would have liked to be a lawyer; what he did was to take $300, saved from his earnings, and enter the St Louis university, where he accomplished the full commercial and scientific four years' course in two years, and re-

ceived the degree of bachelor of science. It was a remarkable feat, but unwholesome. Entering as freshman at the age of eighteen, with fine health, full of vigor, splendid memory, with far more ambition and enthusiasm than time or money, he came out at twenty jaded and worn, and threatened with consumption as the result of a neglected cold. After a visit to Florida for health, he spent the winter in Louisiana, where he had many relatives and friends, among them his uncle, Richard Chinn, at New Orleans, former law partner of Henry Clay, and Thomas Chinn, United States minister at the Sicilies, who owned a plantation at West Baton Rouge, of which William was for a time placed in charge. The following spring he went to St Louis, where he earned a little money. Thence, in order to acquire a further knowledge of lumbering, he proceeded to the reservation of the Menomonees and Chippewas in the Wisconsin territory, a wild region with immense areas of pine timber just then being opened to lumber manufacturers. The result was further experience in that direction, one episode in which I will permit Mr Coleman to state in his own words; for besides the light thrown upon the traffic of the time, we have here manifested capabilities and qualities which he afterward displayed in the popular tribunals in California.

"My old friends," he says, "Morrison and Boswell, lumber dealers of St Louis, owned large timber tracts and saw-mills at the great falls of the Wisconsin river, where the town of Wasceau now stands. As their agent and representative, I made the round trip every year, starting from St Louis in the early spring, and returning during the summer. The last year I was so engaged, 1847, I had a rough experience. The timber lands and mills were rented to a Mr Pierson, rental payable in sawed lumber, 500,000 feet per annum; I was commissioned to receive that lumber at the mill, and raft it to St Louis.

"Pierson was successful with the mill, but refused to pay his rent, determined if possible to defraud my friends; he thought he was beyond the reach of the law, or the power of the owners to enforce a contract, and that he would manufacture and sell the products as long as practicable, and then leave the country. When I asked payment, he put me off, and would not even discuss the matter, gave me no hope, and I could see no prospect. His scheme soon became evident. I made a formal demand in writing, and required immediate compliance; he defied me. Prompt action on my part was necessary, in order to take advantage of the high waters of the summer to float the timber down the river; delays would carry the business over into another year. Finding that I could do nothing with him, and get nothing, not even encouragement or a hope, I matured my plans. I determined to invoke the aid of the law, and failing in that, to use force, but in no event to return to St Louis without my rent. I started early, walked to the nearest station, fifty miles distant, there took a horse, and rode day and night to Madison, the capital of the territory, and seat of the United States court. I applied for an injunction to prevent Pierson from running the mill, and an order enforcing payment of dues. My lawyer drew a strong petition and accompanying papers, and waited on the judge. After reading and considering the question, he refused to sign the instrument, saying my authority was sufficient for mercantile purposes, but not in form for such legal proceedings, and raised other objections which were technical. I was left without aid or hope from that source, but I was not without other resources, of which I resolved to avail myself.

"I took the petition, and some red tape and wax, and made the document look as formal and as formidable as could be to a frontiersman, and straightway returned to the mill, caused it to be understood that I had the injunction papers, and that force would soon

appear, take possession, and collect all that was due. I then determined to finesse, and try negotiations with the view of a settlement with Pierson, but I soon found that this was impracticable. He would do nothing, and gruffly suggested that it would be better for me to go back home at once, as I was not needed there any longer, and could do no good. I thereupon concluded definite arrangements with, and enlisted for the season, the services of the two leading men on the river, both pilots and both champion fighters in the district. I also quietly and promptly secured several others of the best men in the camp. I had money, which was not a common commodity at that time, and could pay my men promptly in cash, instead of in promises. It was a strong point. They also saw and appreciated my position with Pierson, whose course they conscientiously condemned. I soon arranged for a sufficient force which I was sure I could rely upon. Everything being ready, I determined to take possession of the mill, take the lumber already sawed, some 600,000 feet, run the mill as long as the water would admit, and make the best success possible in carrying out what I had undertaken. My first move was to take possession of the lumber already in rafts, and put my men upon it. He saw the attack and came for me at once. He was heavier than I, but older, being thirty-five to my twenty-three years. I reminded him of the difference; he said he waived all differences, and we came together; he had greater strength, I greater activity; I was better equipped for the encounter. After a few complimentary remarks between us, we came to blows, then clinched. We had a severe engagement; I got the better of it, acquitting myself as well as I could. He finally begged, declared himself done and satisfied. He quit, thoroughly vanquished; I suggested his leaving the premises and neighborhood within an hour, which he promptly did. I entered the mill, called in my men, arranged my forces, took possession of everything,

lands and works, and my right was promptly acknowledged by every man present. Being short-handed, I took part in the work myself, and stood what is called a tour of twelve hours a day. Finally I rafted my lumber, got it ready in every way, hired my rivermen, ran the rapids, and took out that year's product as well as a large portion of that of the year before, which had been held over, amounting in all to 800,000 feet.

"While I was at this work, Pierson tried to raise a force to regain possession of the mill, but did not succeed. I had captured the fort with all the forces, and the entire body had sworn allegiance to me, and remained steadfast. I had heard that he had threatened me with vengeance, to which I returned the message of 'good morning.' He threatened to take me on my way home and try and replevin the lumber at some convenient point, for all of which I was fully prepared. Enabled thereby to take the lead of the fleet, I continued with my men the whole distance down the Mississippi to Alton, which was twenty-five miles above St Louis, never once leaving the property."

There were few young men in the year 1848 with whom William T. Coleman would have wished to change places. With health reëstablished and fortune at his feet, a clear, well-balanced, and disciplined mind, a symmetrical body seasoned to work, a face expressing energy and will, he was a fair sample of the thorough-bred, progressive American youth. His portrait at this time, though that of a beardless boy, shows a reserve force remarkable in the character of one so young. His face is a picture of the thoughtfulness of power in repose, with no shadow of pride, vanity, or egotism. Of medium stature and well proportioned, head oblong though well squared, and solidly placed on broad shoulders; forehead high, fairly Grecian nose and chin, brown auburn hair

worn longer than present fashion; clear, calm, penetrating grayish blue eyes; mouth and lips showing courage and determination, here, as elsewhere, denoting that strength whose prominent characteristic lay in the power of pleasing, we have before us a youthful personage who, while filled with lofty purpose, is still at peace with himself and his environment. Enjoying the friendship of prominent men of the day, a favorite and a conspicuous figure in society, he took his fill of pleasure, being now thoroughly in the mood to enjoy it. He was fortunate at this juncture in not being rich or poor; for if he had been rich, with his youth, and his adaptability for fruition, the energy, activity, and usefulness which he developed might have been greatly impaired, while to call a young American such as this, though without a dollar, poor, would seem absurd. Everywhere was fortune, and here was capability to grasp it. Whithersoever he turned himself, in whatsoever department he should put forth his efforts, whether in a learned profession or in plain business, he would probably succeed.

As early as 1844–45, after reading Irving's *Astoria*, Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, the reports of government expeditions, and the accounts of trappers and explorers of the Rocky mountains who had visited California, young Coleman thought seriously of that country, and partially organized a party to cross the plains for San Francisco, with the purpose of making it their home in the future. This would doubtless have been carried out, but for the failure of some of the party to join the expedition. The acquisition of California by the American government in 1646–47, the discovery of gold and the excitements in 1848, revived his desire to reach California; and although then well situated and with fine prospects in St Louis, he determined the following winter to cross the continent, and early in the spring of 1849 organized a second party, including his only and

younger brother and two friends. He realized on his little landed property, inherited, but not before available; had wagons built, bought provisions, mining tools, clothing, arms, tents, rockers for washing gold, and an ample stock of all sorts of supplies; proceeded to St Joseph, where he purchased animals, and early in May the expedition struck out across the broad plains.

"The trip embraced the usual vicissitudes," says Mr Coleman. "We moved up north through Iowa, which then had a very sparse population. We crossed the Missouri river at what was called Platte rock, now Platteville. We had two wagons heavily loaded with merchandise, machinery, and supplies. I was in command of our party and of a company made up in St Joseph. Between the Missouri river and Salt Lake City, where we stopped, we passed but one house, and that was deserted, excepting the military stations at forts Laramie and Kearny. At Salt Lake City I was ill with the mountain fever, and our party called a halt. In fact, all the emigrants taking that route rested at this point. As soon as I recovered I asked my associates to have a conference, and proposed that we abandon our wagons and take pack-mules the rest of the way. All objected except my brother; but we agreed to divide our effects, each being at liberty to pursue his own course. This arrangement made, we procured fresh horses and packs, and fitted out for California, where we arrived in due time, my brother and myself being alone and without arms, save an old Allen revolver, and knives. Meantime, in looking about Salt Lake City, I discovered many poor and needy people. I found whole families, Mormons, living in the wagon-beds in which they had crossed the plains the year before; sometimes two families were in a single emigrant wagon-bed. Some of these people had not for months tasted of what might be called luxuries. They were in need of the commonest necessaries of life. After reserving for

ourselves enough to last us to California, and keep us above want for a while afterward, I distributed to these poor people all my remaining supplies, which were considerable, flour, bacon, and, what was more eagerly craved by them, coffee, tea, and sugar.

"About the same time I proposed to a number of immigrants, our own company in particular, which was a large one, that we give Brigham Young a dinner, and express to him our pleasure at the courtesies we had received from his people, and the benefits we had enjoyed in the city. He accepted the invitation, and I was asked to do the honors. Procuring the best house we could find for the purpose, we ordered as elaborate a dinner as practicable, served in the middle of the day. There was but one chair in the house, and that we reserved for the guest of the occasion. We used benches and blocks, or whatever we might, for the rest of the company, and I took the end of the table. We enjoyed a rich repast, with very brief remarks. We had an excellent service of fresh vegetables, peas, beans, etc., which was a great luxury to us at the time, as we had had nothing of the kind since we left the Missouri river, and scarcely any since the year previous. We had, what was a luxury to them, good tea, coffee, and sugar. There were also supplies of game and fresh meats, these being plentiful. We had no spirits or wine, intoxicating drink not being allowed in the country.

"Next day my brother and I started about noon, with eight animals, to make Weaver creek for the night camp. We had given away our wagons, and in fact almost everything else. We could have sold our supplies, for they were valuable, but I could not refrain from giving them to the miserably poor people who needed them most. I did not need the money they would bring. In fact, I had prepared myself in St Louis with funds sufficient to carry me and my brother to China, and thence home, in the event of the failure of the gold-fields, the character of

which had not been fully determined, and which were still regarded as very uncertain. My brother and I carried this money about our persons. We were provided with a mormon guide-book, published by one who had become familiar with the overland routes during the Mexican war, and later by a trip to and from California.

"Being well equipped, we struck out boldly, and made the journey to Sacramento in twenty-one days, which then was rather unusual, but by knowing all the camping grounds, taking care of our animals, having one or two extra ones running loose all the time without pack or burden, we came on without accident, and every animal in good condition. We stood guard every night, my watch being until about two o'clock. My brother stood guard from then until morning, and had breakfast ready and the animals packed before calling me. I usually ate breakfast in the saddle. Arriving at the sink of the Humboldt, we found the water there strongly alkaline, and unfit for man or beast. The moon was at the last quarter, and it was several hours before daybreak when we broke camp at that point. As we rode out in the utter and almost palpable stillness of night, the bright moonshine revealed chiefly carcasses of animals that had perished on the desert trail; no vegetation whatever or any other form of life was visible. About three o'clock in the afternoon a fine mule which I was riding sniffled in a very suggestive manner, then stopped and brayed. I said to my brother, 'That means water.' We were then seven miles from the Truckee river, and when we reached the stream the famished animals plunged their heads up to their eyes and even up to their ears into the swift current. It was delicious. We had had but little water, and none so good as this for several days.

"Resting one day at the mouth of the Truckee river, our animals luxuriating in the rich grasses and pure waters, we determined not to cross the mountains

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on that route, but instead moved in a southeasterly direction to the Carson river, and crossed the Sierras by the Carson route, passing to the eastward of lake Tahoe, and coming in by Strawberry, all of which involved about three days."

Their entrance into California, a land attracting them by its promise and its mystery, was an event calculated to impress itself upon these young men.

They camped on the night of Saturday, August 13th, at a muddy spring some forty miles from Sacramento. The dried grass, which would have filled their beasts with gladness if only they might have had it, their masters forced them by as unfit for food, and gave them instead a meagre remnant of oats packed from the Missouri river. They had seen scarcely any one since leaving the Mormon country, but here they found in the dust the imprint of a multitude of bare feet. Can it be, they thought, that the pilgrims hither have been reduced to going barefoot? Not so bad as that; the tracks were those of Digger Indians. Presently they saw coming toward them a fine, dashing fellow, splendidly mounted.

"Is this California?" Mr Coleman ventured to ask.

"Yes," was the reply, "this is California."

"How about the gold; are the mines a success?"

"I will show you," he said, as he drew from a leathern bag a handful of gold, in which beautiful specimens glittered beside the finer dust. "This I dug two miles from here; take some."

"My dear fellow," exclaimed Coleman, "is it not a little hazardous exposing your wealth in this way?"

The cavalier laughed. "Oh, no; people don't steal here now. They used to, but we strung a lot of 'em up over at old Dry Diggings—they call the place Hangtown now."

In answer to inquiries about the road to Sacramento the Colemans were told to turn to the right on passing Sutter's fort, and cross the American river; there they would find water and grass, and could

make their camp two miles nearer Sacramento than at any other available place. On the way they met a dozen parties pushing toward the mines. They were chiefly Americans. They looked to the incomers pale and bleached compared to the men they had been with for three months. Hailing some of them, it was ascertained that they were passengers by sailing vessel and steamer, and had not been exposed to the scorching sun of plain and desert. There was also a company of Chinese, the first they had ever seen; two groups of Spanish-Americans, and others.

"After a day's rest, on August 14th," Mr Coleman continues, "I visited Sacramento. I found it like an old-fashioned methodist camp-meeting on a grand scale; there were long ranges of tents, with a number of indifferent buildings, and a few of more dignified appearance. The town was laid out regularly, and lots had been sold. I met a number of acquaintances from St Louis, and before night was crammed with information regarding the condition of the country, particularly the mines. I had come to California to dig gold; had no other idea; but being now pretty well informed of the vicissitudes of that labor, and especially of the sickness pervading most parts of the mining country, and seeing, as I thought, prospects of a greater certainty in Sacramento, I determined to abandon for the moment my idea of mining, and try my fortunes there. I had come to stay in California, if there was anything to stay for.

"The second day I spent in exploring the town for something to do, meanwhile renewing old acquaintances and making new ones. The third day I determined to buy some town lots, in which there was then great activity. I selected a fine tract at the corner of K and Seventh streets, where the trees and underbrush were being cleared away for business purposes. After obtaining the lowest price, I asked the owner if he would take some live-stock in part payment. He

replied that he would—an ox team and wagon. I had horses and mules, but no oxen. Yet I felt that if I was to do business in California, I might as well begin here as anywhere else; so without hesitation I agreed to deliver him a wagon and three yoke of oxen for $550, the remainder of the money for the land, $250, to be paid in cash, which I had. I went up to the emigrant neighborhood, where there were a great many cattle-teams, and more constantly arriving. I bought a fine wagon and five yoke of oxen for $550; took out the two extra yoke, and sent them to auction, where they brought $225. The other three yoke and wagon I delivered, according to contract, as the price of the land. My choice tract thus cost me but $575.

"My next requirement was a house of wood or cloth, not for myself, for I had not slept in one for months, but for business uses. The man who sold me the cattle had two large fly-tents, which he wished to dispose of, as he was going to the mines. He had also a lot of luggage to be stored. I saw here an opportunity for a transaction of profit to both of us, and a convenience to him. I bought the tents, set them up on my land, and took his traps on storage at a dollar a month for each package. Returning from the mines in six weeks, the owner of the articles called for his property, which he found all right; but in settling with me, it figured itself out that he owed about twice as much for storage as he received for the tents. This he thought a hard bargain, though he did not deny that it was fair. I proposed to cancel the difference and call our account square, which he was well satisfied to do.

"When I first pitched my tents, I had in my party two young men, carpenters, from St Louis, whom I had known there slightly, and who were without money or any other means of support. They had failed to get work; they begged me to put them at something. 'Well,' I said, 'I am no architect, but if

you can handle the tools I think I can build a house.' I went to the St Louis Exchange, a hotel then kept in Sacramento by Oliver Garrison, brother of Commodore C. K. Garrison, and wrote out a placard: 'Wm T. Coleman and company, Contractors and Builders; Anything from a dry-goods box to a block of buildings put up with neatness and despatch. References: Oliver Garrison, St Louis Exchange, and Mr Gillespie, merchant, J street.'

"I then went to Gillespie's store, and put up a similar notice there, calling his attention to it, and asking him to refer applicants to me. I heard next day that John Merrill, of the schooner *Gazelle*, from New Bedford, lying in the river, wanted a small building put up, the lumber for which he had just landed. I called on Mr Merrill—later of J. C. Merrill and company, California street, San Francisco—and made a bargain with him to put up his house for $100. He pointed out the ground, and I set my carpenters to work. By noon the next day the house was finished, and I handed the key to the owner, who gave me the money, which I divided among the men who had assisted in the work.

"Encouraged by this beginning, I pushed on and soon obtained further work of different kinds, among which was a building for the New Bedford company, of which Ephraim Leonard, of San Francisco, was the head. The contract price was $600. It was tough work, as the lumber had come round the Horn, on deck, and was thoroughly saturated with salt water; then the structure had to be set upon blocks cut from large trees felled on the ground, as Captain Sutter had informed us that the whole region was periodically overflowed from the river. Meanwhile I kept on at my new business, building fences, bridges, gold-rockers—anything which offered. For common sheet-iron I paid a dollar a pound, and for the use of a punch and block to make holes in it, for rockers, a dollar for each sheet, of about one foot by

two in size. The rockers were of wood, like a child's cradle, very plain, with cleats for catching the gold, and cost us, including what we had to pay for material, from six to ten dollars each. We sold them as rapidly as we could make them, at an advance of a hundred per cent. The business increased, until we had become the first manufacturers in the town. Yet I felt all the time that it was rather more of a makeshift than a legitimate business for me, as I did not know a fore-plane from a jack-plane, and was in no sense a carpenter, builder, or architect.

"I had heard of a finished mechanic and draughtsman from Cincinnati, and hunting him up, I explained my position and offered him a partnership, or a cash payment of fifty dollars a day, at his option. He declined, saying that he could make a hundred dollars a day digging in the mines, and that was what he came out here to do. He went up on the Stanislaus, and died there within a month. I determined to close up the business, although offers were being made to me for large undertakings, buildings, and other work. It was rather a traffic in talk, in which I could no doubt do well enough, but I did not care to engage in it permanently.

"One day I was at Stevens' store, where was prominently displayed a lot of Osgood's India cholagogue, a fever and ague remedy, popular in the Mississippi valley at that time. I inquired the price.

"'Eight dollars a bottle,' was the reply.

"'How much if I take the lot?'

"'Nothing less; it is cheap enough at that price.'

"'Perhaps you would like to buy some at $5 or $6?'

"'I will take all you can bring at $5 a bottle,' Stevens testily replied.

"I closed the bargain with him, and told him I would deliver several gross within an hour. He fancied I was bantering, but I remembered to have seen some at the store of Leonard, Potter, and Delano, which they were selling at $3 a bottle. I immediately

proceeded to the store, where I saw Mr Potter, for whom I had built a house. I asked him how much of the cholagogue he had. He said three gross. I told him I would take the lot. He hesitated, and finally concluded that he could spare but two gross, which I might have at $3 a bottle. I told him to turn it out immediately, as I had a customer for it. I looked about for a cart to take it down to Stevens', and not being able to find one at once, I borrowed a wheelbarrow, piled on the four boxes containing the two gross, and trudged off with them to the purchaser. Stevens was petrified at seeing such a stock of the commodity presented to him. I told him there it was. He wanted to look at it, and we opened a case. He then pretended that it was not genuine. I took a bottle of his and one of my own and compared them, and asked him where was the difference.

"'O, every difference,' said Stevens.

"'You evidently want to back out,' I said, 'but it will not do. You made a bargain, upon which I acted in good faith, and here are the goods, which I tender on the contract, and demand the money. And, sir,' I said, 'if you don't settle fairly and quickly, I will have the sheriff here in fifteen minutes, and furthermore, I will burst the cholagogue market on you.

"Stevens and a neighbor in the trade who had a supply agreed to divide it, and sustain the market. They paid me five dollars a bottle, thus netting me $576 for an hour's work, and no money invested. This was the first mercantile transaction of my life. It set me to thinking in a new direction—to weighing cholagogue against carpenter work, and I concluded that the mercantile business was more in my line than house-building.

"The field being pretty well occupied at Sacramento, I determined to try merchandising at the mines; so selling all I had, including my lots on K street at a fine profit, I bought a six-horse team, loaded it with goods, threw my tent on the wagon,

and directed my brother to drive it to Placerville. Mounting a horse I took a short cut for the same place. To show the cost of things then, I bought one bushel (60 pounds), of half-shrunken Sandwich islands potatoes, for which I paid $60. I have seen better potatoes sell at thirty cents a bushel. I paid for a half-barrel of pickles $90, and was glad to get it at that. The cost in New York was perhaps $3. Some other things were cheaper, proportionately, but when I came to sell my stuff, the lowest average price was about one dollar a pound. I set up my tent, fixed the prices which my brother was to ask for the goods, took the team myself, and made three trips to Sacramento that season. Being quite successful, and keeping well up with the trade, I built a large log house for protection against the winter weather, and gained money very rapidly.

"Everybody knows that the winter of 1849 was exceptionally rainy. A heavy storm came on early, and the roads were almost impassable. Looking about me, I saw that there was not enough flour in the mining towns to carry the people half through the winter. It was then selling at a dollar a pound, and the fear of starvation was even at this time frightening many persons. Mounting my horse, I hastened to Sacramento, and with no little difficulty secured two large wagons, with a long line of oxen before each one—all the transportation facilities that could be had. I agreed to pay $50 a barrel for hauling flour to Placerville, forty-five miles, the same that I paid, per barrel, for the flour itself. I remained with the teams during the entire trip, which was successfully made. It was the last load that went into camp before the heavy rains set in. I could have sold all my flour, which had cost me $100 a barrel, or fifty cents a pound, immediately in one lot, for $1.50 a pound, but I was thinking of three or five dollars a pound before the winter was over. I sold sparingly at $1.50 a pound, until news of the scarcity having reached Sacramento,

and the weather temporarily clearing up a little, such a flood of flour was poured in upon us that I was finally glad to get twenty-five cents a pound for my stock. This experience taught me a life-long lesson —never to grasp for too much, but to be satisfied with reasonable immediate success.

"We had in the mining towns the same spirit of speculation and combination that was more extensively developed in the larger places. I bought this same season all the barley I could get, which consisted, however, of less than a dozen sacks, paying $1.50 a pound, and selling it readily at $2.50 a pound.

"During the depression in trade I tried mining. Finding an unoccupied space, I staked out a claim ten feet square, took a little rocker, pick, and shovel, and went to work. Adjoining me was a company of Irishmen under the leadership of a man from Charleston, South Carolina, who, as he plied his rocker, kept up a lively whistling of Norma, but to the rhythm of which the nuggets did not seem inclined to move. The first day I panned out $40, and although I was accustomed to vigorous exertion, and fancied myself equal to any ordinary labor, I found my system wonderfully racked by picking in the hard roadway and rocks. The second day I got two ounces; the third day I got only a small prospect. With this I retired from digging operations, being satisfied that my brain would carry me through the world better than my sinews. After I had abandoned my claim, the Norma whistler went onto it, and his first day's work was twelve ounces, or about $200; and it afterward averaged sometimes a pound of gold a day for his entire company. Such are the vicissitudes attending mind and muscle, the results of labor by hand or head being, at times, equally uncertain and speculative.

"While at Placerville I met many men who were later prominent in the affairs of the state. Among them was Lloyd Tevis, whom I had known in St Louis as a boy, and who had crossed the plains that

same year and was digging at Weaverville with considerable success. He visited me at Placerville almost every Sunday, and it was a great pleasure to both of us to talk over the days of our youth, of the old associations, as well as to discuss current events appertaining to our new country. One night after we had retired, one sleeping on the counter in the store and the other under it, a fire of pine knots brightly burning outside, Tevis asked me what was my ambition in regard to the future, what plans I had, if any, and what I would like to do. I told him I would like to go to San Francisco, become a leading merchant there, and pictured to him very fully the place in the world I would like to fill. He in turn told me what kind of a career would best please him; and it is a singular coincidence that each of us afterward pursued the course of life almost exactly as we had foreshadowed it that evening, realizing even more in fact than we had anticipated in our castle-building.

"Leaving my brother to close up the business in the mines, about the 1st of January 1850, I proceeded to San Francisco. It was an interesting period in the history of the city. The rush was over; the year's immigration had practically ceased; the harbor was filled with vessels bearing various cargoes, many of them ill adapted to the wants of the people. Heavy, drenching rains continued to flood the country. North of California street, the road was almost impassable. Temporary causeways were laid with boxes of tobacco, or any packages the contents of which were for the moment unsalable. The inhabitants of the town entertained widely different views regarding the situation and prospects, some being cheerful, many discouraged, a few full of hope, but all generally making the best of the situation. Trade with the interior was entirely cut off. All kinds of business were practically stagnant, except such small transactions as arose from the daily necessities of the people, some of these being of an interesting and curious nature. For

example, the heavy rains and deep mud created a call for big boots, and I have seen men attend the auction sales, where such goods were sold, and buy boots at ten, twelve, or sixteen dollars a pair, which they would take to the corners of the streets and promptly sell at fifty, eighty, or a hundred dollars a pair. I have seen fine wine sold at auction at five dollars a barrel, and the purchaser take samples of the same to the leading saloons and sell it by the package at five dollars a gallon. There were many articles almost worthless in the market, as tobacco, fine brandies, very fine wines, etc., on account of overstock, and lack of demand. Some of these in unbroken packages were used in the construction of street crossings; some were bought up on speculation and shipped back to the place whence they came; some were kept a week or a month and sold at an enormous profit on the spot. Great quantities of goods were sacrificed at auctions, the importer being compelled to receive his cargo from the vessel when he had no place in which to store it. It was a grand opportunity for a small dealer so situated as to step in and take advantage of the opportunities arising every day. But while great profits were realized in some instances, the average run of trade was not more profitable than in other countries under a more settled state of affairs, and losses often overbalanced these excessive profits. Each day's business was like playing a new game of hazard. I recollect once writing home, while Moore's Lalla Rookh was running through my mind:

> "Ah, Zelica! there was a time, when bliss
> Shone o'er thy heart from every look of his.
> . . . . . .
> Too happy days! when if he touch'd a flow'r
> Or gem of thine, 'twas sacred from that hour."

which I parodied in my letter:

> "Now is the time
> When if we touch a barrel of flour,
> Or pork, 'tis doubled from that hour."

"But the doubling would not keep on; it would too often halve itself instead.

"I established myself on the east side of Sansome street, near Jackson, then the water front, the rear end opening on three feet of water at low tide. Most of the ships then arriving with assorted cargoes came consigned to the captain, who generally had an interest in the venture, and was his own merchant. Enterprising San Franciscans, a few of them, regularly visited those ships. I soon had a splendid whaleboat and two stalwart oarsmen in my service. There was often more humor than profit in my visits to and negotiations with the burly ship captains. One day, the American ship *Manchester*, from Nantucket, Captain Job Coleman, with an assorted cargo, was reported off north beach. I hauled away and boarded the ship. The captain had gone ashore. I left my card, with the request that he should see me before doing any business. When on returning to his vessel he found this message, he came again on shore and visited my place. He saw my partner, made some inquiries about me, and then quoted some doggerel, well known in Nantucket, about the Colemans, a rather numerous family there, the gist of which was that they never amounted to much. I had not yet seen the captain, but from the description I was rather pleased. I finally met him and found him to be a tall, grave, dignified, almost austere, man, who knew his business and had a fair appreciation of self.

"He had a large invoice of pickles, then scarce and very desirable in the market as anti-scorbutic. I told him frankly that I wanted the lot. He asked me for an offer, but I told him to go into the market everywhere, to every store, and get the views of the trade, to inform himself fully about everything, and then come and see me and we would do business; that I would not make him an offer to trade on, but when he had completed his inquiries, I would take his goods. He went his way, and after two days returned and sold me a large invoice, including half-barrels of pickles at $15 each, which cost $3 in New York,

cases of pickles, one dozen each of gallon jars, for $16, which cost $3.50 or $4 in New York, and other things in proportion. These were the cream of his cargo, very desirable, and I knew I could make a profit on them, but he compelled me to take some articles in the same purchase which were not desirable. He agreed to deliver them on the platform at the east end of my store, bringing them in his long-boats. I advertised these articles freely in the next morning's papers. He had his loaded boats there, and half an hour later the platform was crowded with customers asking the price of pickles—pickles in half barrels and pickles in gallons in cases. I replied for the latter, $36 a case. Before another half hour had passed by I had sold the greater part of my purchase for over one hundred per cent profit. The captain, standing in the store, saw it all, and when he fully realized how the thing was working, his figure rose to its full height, six feet two, while his countenance expressed his amazement. 'Coleman,' said he, the next day when he came on shore, 'I wrote my wife in Nantucket last night, saying that there was a Coleman here who did not belong to the Nantucket family, and I am sure I was right.' We were close friends ever afterward.

"At that time this country was importing from the Hawaiian islands and Australia nearly all the potatoes and onions used, as from Peru and Chili came flour and feed grain. In our dependent position, delayed shipments, or a scarcity from any cause, sent up prices, while an over-supply brought them down correspondingly. I have known onions to find quick sale at fifty cents a pound on one day, and to be a drug on the market the next day at twenty or twenty-five cents, and if the supply increased dropping to half that price, or less.

"The early bird was eminently successful in those times. Ships arriving overnight with desirable cargoes, the doors of the consignees would be besieged at six o'clock next morning by the more active

people in the trade, awaiting the arrival of the owner. Sometimes a dozen would be in a line, those coming first having the preference of the first interview and opportunity to trade. It was often a severe experience for both buyer and seller. The seller, seeing the buyers outside, would naturally feel that in case the first did not accept his terms, the second one would, and consequently he might put up his prices to suit himself. But it sometimes happened that the consignee did not know what articles of an invoice were most desirable, when the buyer would have the advantage. I have frequently seen the first person in line leaving without making a purchase; or, on the other hand, he might secure every desirable article on the vessel, leaving those in his wake to get nothing, and the consignee with a large quantity of unsalable goods on his hands. In all this there was little of sharp practice, very little of trickery or dishonorable dealing. Business was carried on to a great extent upon honor, men regarding their word as sacred as their bond. But of course the shrewder sort, and those having the best knowledge of their business, the most active and intelligent, would make money where others would lose."

In 1852 Mr Coleman began business in New York, increasing his shipping interests to such an extent that in 1856, after closing the work of the vigilance committee, he started a regular line of ships to San Francisco, the enterprise being attended with signal success. At this time California was considered an outpost of civilization and of commerce. Merchants there were regarded as adventurers, worthy of some credit perhaps, but not ranking at all in responsibility with those of the Atlantic seaboard, or even of the southern or western states. Means of communication with the west coast were limited. It was the part of prudence in the California merchant having obligations to meet in the Atlantic states to keep there a reserve fund, as large as possible, to draw upon in

case of an emergency. During the financial panic of 1857, however, the moneyed men of New York began to regard the San Francisco merchants at somewhat nearer their true value, the Pacific coast being less affected at such times than the Atlantic coast. All through this period of stringency, Mr Coleman had in bank at New York money sufficient to pay all his obligations, discounting many of them sixty or ninety days before they became due. Further than this, rates of discount being at one time very high, four or five per cent a month, he bought some first-class paper of other houses as an investment. No man ever did more than Mr Coleman to elevate the standard of California credits in New York. For example: while this panic was at its height, he had some acceptances in Boston, which he was especially desirous of retiring. They were held by the City Bank, of which Samuel Hooper was president. Mr Coleman went to the bank and saw the president.

"You hold some paper of mine, Mr Hooper, which I should like to retire."

"At what rate?" asked the president, with an air of surprise.

"Well," said Mr Coleman, "good New York paper is selling at three per cent a month, but I do not want any such rate."

"Do you really desire to purchase your paper?" he asked, still incredulous.

"I do; that is why I am here."

"Then I will not sell it," said the bank president. "If there is any good paper about I want it."

"Not at seven per cent per annum?"

"No."

"I would like to have it, Mr Hooper, and I would like it at six per cent per annum."

"I will not sell it at all," he replied.

A few hours later, meeting Mr Coleman on 'change, where he stood talking with several friends, Mr

Hooper came up and said: "We must have a glass case made for this man," putting his hand on Coleman's shoulder, "who is ready to buy his paper in the midst of this panic at six per cent per annum interest." "You may dispense with the glass case," Coleman replied, "but I would like you to understand California a little better, and give her merchants their due, for there are men and resources there that the people in the Atlantic states and Europe do not yet appreciate."

Indeed, Mr Coleman's course throughout this financial episode was not without premeditation and purpose. He saw here an opportunity to raise the credit of California to a higher plane than it had ever before enjoyed. In no other way could he better make her true strength understood, and he resolved that he would embrace every similar opportunity to increase her credit and exhibit her strength. Hence, in the panic of 1861, he further strengthened the reputation of California; and so in every subsequent disturbance, until the panic of 1873 brought California credit to the front rank, and placed it above that of any other state in the union.

But it was not alone in times of anxiety in the money market or of bodily danger at the hands of banded ruffians that Mr Coleman has shown himself available and helpful. In the presence of that most appalling of pestilential horrors, yellow fever, before which ordinarily stout-hearted men and heroic women flee with terror, his courage, self-possession, and readiness in devising expedients brought him to the relief of hundreds of his fellow-beings.

In January 1853, being *en route* from New York to San Francisco, he took passage at Panamá on the steamer *Tennessee*, Captain Totten. It was a boisterous winter, but warm. They laid in the usual stores at that point, and, among other things, Mr Coleman's party bought all the ice there was remaining in Panamá, about a ton, for which twenty-five cents a pound

was paid. There were about seven hundred passengers on board, and among the more prominent was a bishop of the methodist church.

Two days from Panama the yellow fever appeared, first attacking a young lieutenant in the United States army. This naturally caused great uneasiness. The next day several new cases were reported. The surgeon of the ship, a very good man, was entirely unacquainted with yellow fever, and, these being his first cases, and seeing the terror spread around him, became demoralized, and losing sleep, resorted to stimulants, and finally arrived at such a condition that his brother officers felt it necessary to put him in irons. He was, in fact, from excitement, almost a maniac.

Here was truly an alarming state of affairs. On a small ship, out at sea, with no relief possible, no port of refuge near by, with seven hundred passengers, of all grades of society, crowding every nook and corner, a long run before reaching their destination, fully ten days' exposure to tropical influences, without a doctor or medical man on board except the surgeon, and he totally incapacitated, the whole ship became terror-stricken. Several deaths occurred. The first funeral was attended with much solemnity; a long and solemn service was read, and the body, wrapped in sheets, was committed to the deep. The second was alike solemn; the third less so; the fourth still less so, and so on, until the living hastened to get the dead out of the way as soon as possible. Neither the good bishop nor the passengers seemed inclined to give much time, if any, to further funeral ceremonies. The gloom of a charnel-house settled over the vessel; deep melancholy prevailed; mothers gathered their children to their arms, fathers drew their families together, friends whispered or talked only in subdued tones. The captain of the ship himself, a good sailor and a good man, was, because of impaired health, much alarmed and unequal to the occasion. What was to be done? There seemed to be no one who had any

confidence in his ability to assist, or who was willing to assume any risk that might be shunned. There was the greatest solicitude to avoid contact with any fever-stricken patient. It was evident, then, that a crisis had come, and that prompt measures were necessary to prevent still more serious results. At this point, Mr Coleman canvassed the ship thoroughly, to find some one who could act as surgeon. The nearest approach was Mr Tilotson, who had seen some service as an apothecary. Coleman urged him to take charge. Tilotson declined, but said if Coleman would lead, he would follow. They consulted the captain, and were asked to act quickly. Coleman had no medical education, and little experience, except such as a thoughtful and observant person acquires in malarial regions. He overhauled the ship's medicine-chest and library, studied the few books on fever symptoms and remedies, and soon became able to prescribe simple remedies and suitable régime and diet. He appropriated the ice purchased at Panamá, to the sole use of the fever-stricken; organized corps of nurses and assistants, divided the ship into wards and watches, labored to make each one as valuable as practicable, and to divert the minds of passengers, by keeping them usefully employed. His equanimity, matter-of-fact activities, and sympathetic attention gave hope to the sick and encouraged all others.

The captain, appreciating the work done, gave Coleman complete control of the hygiene of the ship, ordered his deck officers and stewards to promptly obey his directions in everything. The work of cleanliness and fumigation was made complete, and temperance enjoined on every one.

The happy effect thus produced was marvellous; the alarm subsided; those who had looked despondent began to brighten up, and hope blossomed out of despair. The number of deaths decreased rapidly, but few new cases appeared; there was an encouraging improvement throughout day by day; yet it was

nearly a week of lingering fear and doubt before the worst was safely over, and passengers and crew felt they were freed from the plague. There were several days when only seven persons appeared regularly at the cabin dining-table. Among them were the late William Barron and an old ship captain and Mr Coleman, but no ladies. But as the ship approached the northern latitudes there was notable improvement, and after passing Cape St Lucas it was very marked, and when the steamer arrived off San Francisco there was very little evidence of the fever left. A few persons, however, were still ill or complaining.

To bring out more fully the character of the man on this occasion, I trespass upon the bounds of a private reminiscence of Mr Coleman, and give an extract from his own modest writing in reference to this incident: "I was not a doctor, and probably no more fitted to take charge of the ship at this critical period than many other persons who were on board. But I had a little more energy, possibly, or something which impelled me to do what I could to better the state of things around me. I did not want to run the risk of yellow fever any more than anybody else. I knew the danger; but I felt that shirking or desponding would do me no good, and certainly do no one else good, and I met the occasion promptly, and, I may say, almost cheerfully. I never missed a meal, though living lightly and carefully; I slept my regular hours, as nearly as the work in hand would permit. Above all things, I cultivated a cheerful spirit, and although nursing, watching, and handling those ill, and some who were probably in the pangs of death, I fortunately escaped entirely."

While Mr Coleman was finding his way across the plains to California in 1849, the associated "Hounds" were holding high carnival in San Francisco. Honesty was now no longer universal. In fact, before the dawn of the memorable year just mentioned, it was whispered that villany was banding in Califor-

nia. I have given the history of the origin and development of the association of "Hounds" in volume one of my *Popular Tribunals*. Organized first as a kind of benevolent and relief society, the character of its worst members was not long in reasserting itself. The temptation to live in idleness and take advantage of the pastoral condition which then prevailed was too great for them. By the spring of 1849 these non-producers, in open organized lawlessness, were subsisting as thieves. They had their Tammany Hall, from which they sallied forth. With threats of violence they extorted money or goods from whomsoever they thought prudent to attack. Stores they would enter, and selecting such goods as they fancied, carry them away, or help themselves to whatever they required from exposed piles of merchandise; and so strong did they become that no one dared oppose them. As might be expected, these "Hounds" directed their early attention to politics, the school in which some of the worst of them had been brought up in New York city. Yet, even to-day, such men as these, under a different semblance, have much to do in shaping our affairs, national, state, and municipal. San Francisco has had continuously to provide for and suffer from other parasitic hounds. Largely on account of the apathy of the better class of citizens, tricksters and bosses are allowed to pervert the administration of affairs. It is almost a truism that the American people will tolerate this sort of tyranny to a degree which would drive people living under monarchical rule to desperation.

With increased numbers and opportunities, the Hounds Association put on new dignities. Becoming thereupon somewhat ashamed of their canine appellation, they changed their name to that of the San Francisco Society of Regulators, and organized and officered their body upon the usual respectable models. The main difference between the Hounds and the Regulators was, that the latter were more pretentious,

more diplomatic, and worked more generally through politics as their instrumentality than the former.

Prior to the admission of California into the union in 1850, while there was ample law for all the requirements under the régime which had prevailed until the gold excitement, peace reigned supreme, and the potency of the law was shown in this, that it was seldom invoked, and was administered with the minimum friction. Except at a few points where military discipline and Mexican forms held sway, Californians were governed with little more legal restraint than the aborigines.

From the beginning crime in California had an individuality. Deadly weapons were worn as ornaments, and theft was more wicked than murder. In the race for wealth loss of life was expected; the sacredness of property was beyond question; if half the gold-seekers were killed there were enough of them left. The characteristics of crime grow out of the conditions. Where rope is scarce, and gunpowder plenty, and time limited, and everybody generally impatient of the hypocrisy, subterfuge, and injustice of law-courts, naturally the revolver is the favorite code, placing as it does the vicious and brutal on the same plane with the righteous and humane.

A pastoral innocence attended the gold-diggers of 1848. Crime came to the front the following year, increasing in 1850, until in 1851 hanging for stealing was in order. Here arose the vigilance principle—in San Francisco in the year 1851. There were law-courts then, fairly honest, but justice was an uncertain quantity, proceedings tedious and costly, and jails small and insecure. The principal crimes which caused the popular uprising of 1851 were incendiarism, robbery, and murder; the people arose and executed the law which the court satellites refused or neglected to do. In 1856 it was entirely different. There were law-courts enough, and law was strong, and the prisons were in fair condition. But the min-

isters of the law were exceedingly corrupt. Murderers, thieves, and gamblers saw and seized the opportunity, seating themselves upon the judicial benches left exposed by preöccupied merchants, mechanics, and miners, unblushingly stuffing ballot boxes to secure their reëlection. Hence it was for the protection of outraged law, and the purification of the courts, that the people of San Francisco organized in 1856, as well as for the direct punishment of crime. The last uprising, that of 1877, grew out of a conflict between labor and capital, wherein low foreigners, and kindred American spirits, thought to kill or drive away the Chinese who did too much work for the money they received.

From about the first to the last, William T. Coleman was prominent in all these movements. He saw at once, and never thereafter had reason to change his opinion, that not only was the material prosperity of the time and place in jeopardy, but the vital interests, social, political, and industrial, of the present and future generations were at stake. The monster that preyed upon the life-blood of the commonwealth must be seized by strong hands and strangled, and the longer the delay the more difficult would be the task.

Two full volumes of my historical series are devoted to an account of the popular tribunals of the Pacific coast, and I shall be able in this sketch to give but a brief description.

Mr Coleman first appears upon the scene, in a leading part, in the Burdue-Stuart affair, just prior to the organization of the San Francisco committee of vigilance of 1851. There was already much mobocracy in the mines, and the antics of justice were free and peculiar throughout the entire country. Mr Coleman was even now little more than a boy in years, though a full-grown man in that wisdom which comes of experience. And it is a little singular that this chief among the men of vigilance, among those who later

were so freely denounced as breakers of the law, mobites, and stranglers, should make his first appearance in an endeavor to save the law from an excited rabble who sought to overthrow the actions of a court of justice. In this he was clearly on the side of right, as he was later, and as we find him always.

A poor fellow named Thomas Burdue, whose unfortunate resemblance to the noted criminal James Stuart had brought upon him no small trouble, was in danger of his life from the mob, when Mr Coleman stretched forth his hand to save him, at the same time advocating organized popular proceedings for securing the justice which courts of law failed to provide. Robbery and murder had now become so frequent, and punishment so rare, that, when Burdue was arrested for the robbery of Jansen's store, the people were determined to make an example by hanging him forthwith.

It was on a Saturday night that Burdue was brought up for examination, and after the evidence was heard, the court was adjourned until Monday. Scarcely was this done when a rush was made by the crowd upon the prisoner, fully determined to hang him forthwith. Turning to *Popular Tribunals*, I find there given the action of the future chief of vigilance in this trying emergency.

"Like many others, Mr William T. Coleman had been attending to business up to Saturday night, and although interested in current events had given them no special attention. Wending his way Sunday morning after breakfast toward the old Graham house, on the corner of Pacific and Kearny streets, in the basement of which the prisoners were confined, he saw in the faces of the citizens bent in that direction unmistakable evidences of anger, which as he walked became somewhat contagious. Considering the possibility of a rough turn in affairs before the day was over, in which perchance he might participate, the

thrifty young merchant returned to his room, laid aside his Sunday suit, and put on plainer apparel. When he reached the scene of action, the mayor from the balcony was urging the people to disperse, and proffering the strongest pledges that proceedings in this trial should be prompt and decisive. Others spoke in the same strain.

"It soon became apparent to Mr Coleman that these speeches tended to irritate rather than to allay the excitement. Some laughed at promises; others remained sullenly silent. Many had their small-arms, and from almost every eye shot angry impatience. Though without leadership, without concert of action, the heterogeneous throng seemed possessed of a common purpose. There appeared to be real danger that this sense of burning wrong would break out into excess, that the people would take possession of the building and hang the prisoners.

"Coleman hastily revolved the matter in his mind and determined to try a middle course. Next to downright villany he hated mob violence. He respected the law; even the bloodless skeleton of the law he had ever regarded as preferable to anarchy. Was it not possible to organize a court of the people, *sub colore juris*, if the law would; if not, without the sanction of the law, and so maintain the integrity both of the law and of the people? He would try it.

"Entering the building and making his way to the front balcony, he waited his opportunity, and just as one of the speakers closed an urgent appeal to the people to disperse, go home, and leave everything to the officers, he swung himself well out, and with a wave of the hand cried, 'No! We will do no such thing! The people here have no confidence in your promises, and unfortunately they have no confidence in the execution of the law by its officers. This state of affairs has gone too far. Patience has fled. I propose that the people here present form themselves into a court, to be organized within this building

immediately ; that the prisoners be brought before it that the testimony be taken, counsel on each side allotted; that the trial be begun by twelve o'clock, and conducted fairly, dispassionately, resolutely ; and if the prisoners be found innocent let them be discharged, but if guilty let them be hanged as high as Haman, and that before the sun goes down !'

"For an instant there was silence, breathless, almost painful; the street was waiting for the next word; but it was only for an instant. Then burst forth loud and long applause, which brought relief. The clouds cleared from men's faces. The words had been spoken which each wished to speak. In the abrasions of this impetuous society the steel had struck the flint, and kindled the spark which should liberate its smothered wrath. From a thousand tongues the shout went up, 'Yes ; that's it !' 'You are right !' 'That's the remedy !' Already the great heart of that tumultuous assembly was won ; now to the quieting of it. 'We don't want a mob !' continued the speaker. 'We won't have a mob ! Let us organize as becomes men; here; now ; as a committee of citizens, and insist on the right. All is ready; the witnesses are at hand ; let not justice be further cheated.'

"The proposal was put to vote, and a unanimous 'ay' was the answer. Every good citizen who could was then invited to enter the building; the rest were to stand on guard without in patient quietude. Coleman then entered the inner hall, which was used as a court-room, followed by a crowd. Mounting a chair, he asked them to choose from among their number one who would act as judge, to impanel twelve jurymen, and select counsel for the prosecution and for the defense. He also recommended that those without should organize and surround the building, which was done. J. R. Spence was appointed judge, and C. L. Ross and H. R. Bowie associate justices. Wm T. Coleman was called on to act for the prosecution, and Hall McAllister, Calhoun Benham, and D. D. Shat-

tuck volunteered their services for the defence. The twelve jurymen were sworn in, and after a short adjournment, about half-past two all was ready and the trial proceeded.

"Judge Shattuck entered his official protest against the proceedings, but no attention was paid to him. Coleman opened the case briefly for the people, and was followed by McAllister. The latter asked that a *nolle prosequi* should be entered, and remarked that it ill became men to trample underfoot the high dignity and sacred rights of that law the blessings of which they had all their lives enjoyed. Coleman replied that for the Roman code, and for the law as executed in France and England, and for the great lights of the law, he entertained profound respect. But while the world from time immemorial has had its just ordinances and able advocates, unfortunately there have always been parasites, men who are now-a-days called pettifoggers, and they with the unworthy agents of law had unhappily brought it too often into contempt, had thwarted its wise and just designs, and thereby hazarded the lives and property of the people. It was not laws, but the criminal breach of them, that he complained of; for the vindication of the law, not for its overthrow, the people were there gathered.

"Every exertion was made to calm the passions of the multitude, and except occasional outbursts, general good order and quiet prevailed. The prisoners were kept out of court lest their presence should fan the excitement. Witnesses were examined and the case submitted. About nine o'clock the jury retired, and after a long absence returned with the announcement that they could not agree.

"It was well that the bleak winds and fatigue had chilled the impetuosity of the morning, and that many had in consequence withdrawn to their homes. Nevertheless there were yet remaining those who for twelve consecutive hours had stood massed against

that building waiting to see what this new-fashioned tribunal would do. Their patience now gave way. 'Hang them anyhow!' they shouted when they learned the result. 'They deserve it!' But Coleman said, 'No! Though I feel the mortification and chagrin no less keenly than you, and though I believe these men guilty, there must be no violence. We have done our duty; we cannot afford to make a mistake; our judgment is not superior to that of others, and we must abide the decision.' The jury was discharged, the remainder of the crowd dispersed, the prisoners were left with the county officers, and remanded to jail.

Burdue was finally found guilty by the court, which was sufficiently aroused from its indifference by this popular outburst to condemn a friendless and innocent man to fourteen years' imprisonment. But before the sentence of the court was executed, Burdue was taken to Marysville and narrowly escaped with his life from a charge of murder committed by this same James Stuart.

In the organization of the first San Francisco vigilance committee in 1851, shortly after the Burdue–Stuart affair, Mr Coleman took a quiet but determined position. While he would shirk no responsibility, he would not crowd himself forward. It was not power, prominence, or personal consideration of any kind which actuated these social reformers. Hence the hanging of Jenkins, Stuart, and others was consummated while Mr Coleman was serving his apprenticeship, I might say, in the organization and administration of enforced popular justice. As member of the executive committee of this first organization, he rendered the most efficient service, especially in the prevention of excesses on the part of hot-headed associates like vehement Sam Brannan and others who were in favor of hanging first and trying afterward. Throughout his entire career as apostle and high priest of popular justice, Mr Coleman

would never permit punishment until after a fair trial, and cool, dispassionate sentence, all conducted and arrived at under the usual forms of law and court proceedings, and such alone as would result in condemnation in any of the legally established tribunals of justice inclining toward honesty.

It is not until we come to the grand tribunal of 1856, however, that we are enabled fully to appreciate the man in all the fullness of his genius and self-devotion. Here we behold that consecration to a noble purpose which marks, first the patriot, and if destiny should so determine, the martyr. In him was found in an eminent degree that happy union of qualities without which success would have been impossible. Patriotism and self-devotion, as I have said, first; then clear-sightedness, penetration, and rare executive ability, with a directness of aim and honesty of purpose seldom found outside of the mercantile profession. He made the extinction of crime and the regeneration of the courts a business, and lent to the accomplishment of these purposes the same powers which he would apply to the accomplishment of results in any other direction.

The immediate cause of the explosion of popular indignation, destined to cleanse for many years the social and political atmosphere of California, and save the country from anarchy and ruin, was the killing of James King of William by James Casey, on the 14th of May, 1856. King had been a banker, and was, at the time, an editor, writing reformatory and inflammatory articles, partly upon principle, partly through spite, and partly to build up a newspaper. But, however hotor vehement in language, he was generally on the right side, and the *Bulletin* had not been long established before it was evident that public iniquity or its editor must go. Casey had also been an editor, and was now lawyer, ballot-box stuffer, buyer of votes and verdicts, judge and senator maker, and general

manipulator of judicial and legislative villanies for whomsoever would pay.

Immediately upon firing the fatal shot, and satisfying himself as to the result, Casey proceeded to deliver himself into the hands of the law as the surest method of escaping justice—that justice which, had he not hastened his steps, would have overtaken him ere he had reached the jail.

The shooting occurred about five o'clock in the afternoon. After a hasty dinner taken between six and seven o'clock, Mr Coleman appeared upon the plaza, where he found himself in the midst of a surging mass of men wildly determined on violent demonstrations. Meeting several members of the committee of 1851 they said:

"We were looking for you."

"For what?" asked Coleman.

"To organize the vigilance committee."

Mr Coleman admitted that the necessity existed, but declined the offered leadership, preferring to serve in the ranks. "I went my way among the people," he says, "comparing the various sentiments expressed, and doing everything in my power to allay the ever-increasing excitement. I urged upon my friends not to allow the city to be disgraced by any rash act. Recklessness did not seem to me the remedy, nor hasty action needful."

That is to say, if it was a mob the citizens of San Francisco were determined to make of themselves, Mr Coleman could not join them; if in the most momentous interests affecting the commonwealth passion was to usurp the place of reason, no reasonable man would join the madness; but if time, money, or even life itself were necessary to sustain the arm of justice and vindicate the honor and integrity of the city, whatever Mr Coleman had was at the city's service.

And a feather would turn the scale. Such were the conditions of things, of society, law, lawyers, judges,

legislators, mobocracy in the mines, and justice prostrate in the city, that the voice of one man, and such a man as William T. Coleman was now recognized to be, could not fail to exercise a powerful influence in this centralized and highly wrought community—even to the saving of both city and country from the rule of ruffianism, from the legal trickeries of harpies of the law, and from final disunion from any respectable confederation of states, particularly from the northern United States in their coming struggle.

It soon became evident to the better class of thinking people that in Mr Coleman, more than in any other, were united the essential qualities of leadership in the present emergency—courage and prudence, boldness and discretion, respect for the law, unswerving faith in the integrity of the American people and the American government properly administered, and an abhorrence equally of criminal rule and mobocracy. This they again made known to him, insisting upon his taking his place at the front, which he finally consented to do, stipulating only on behalf of himself and his associates absolute secrecy and absolute obedience.

"It is a serious business," he remarked to his friends. "It is no child's play. It may prove very serious. We may get through quickly, safely; we may so involve ourselves as never to get through."

But his mind once made up, thenceforward to the end there was no hesitancy, no thought of turning back; it must be victory or death. He wrote a call, and signed "The Committee of Thirteen," under which name the organization of 1851 had been disbanded. He asked a friend near by to secure a good hall. This was late at night, and after every effort by others to organize had seemed to entirely fail. The next morning this call appeared in the *Alta* and other papers, and by eight A. M., a large crowd had already assembled in front of the hall named, among them a number of prominent men, all of

whom greeted Coleman cordially when he appeared, and asked him if he would organize a committee, and take the lead. He answered, "Yes, if it must be so," and provided they would pledge themselves loyally to do as he said, and adhere to it to the death if need be. The answer was, "You lead, and we will follow to the end." He then dictated a very solemn obligation under oath, embracing good faith, strict secrecy in all things, true loyalty to one another and to the entire organization, risking life, liberty, and fortune, if need be, with implicit and unfaltering obedience to their leader at all times and under all circumstances. It was agreed to, promptly and unanimously. He suggested, further, that after signing this obligation, and at all times thereafter, instead of using the names of the individuals, each had better, for obvious reasons, be known by a number. The answer was, "Then, Mr Coleman, yours is number one," and he signed as such, the others signing with avidity, their names and following numbers, seriatim, each one reading the oath and affirming it. Enrolment was rapid, fifteen hundred taking the oath the first day. A military organization was decided upon, and an executive committee selected, of which, as well as of the general committee, Mr Coleman was always president. He was de facto commander of the forces, as well as supreme in all things; for which reason, having more than he could do, he afterwards asked Doane to take immediate command of the troops, as he was an experienced soldier, and could devote his whole time to the work. Subscription lists were started, and money flowed in freely. More permanent quarters were established; a breastwork of gunnybags filled with sand was thrown up, giving name to the place, Fort Gunnybags, and cannon were planted there. All this was assuredly significant of sincerity on the part of plain, hard-working merchants and mechanics, accustomed to say what they meant and do as they said. And thus was effected an organization of the good

citizens of San Francisco for self-protection against the wicked ones; an organization of those who lived honest lives and labored for their bread, for protection against the dishonest, who preferred living on the labor of others; an organization in size and significance such as the world had never before witnessed, its number soon swelling to ten thousand strong, active, and intelligent young men, who spent of their own money hundreds of thousands of dollars for the vindication of the integrity of the country in which they had cast their fortunes.

It is due to Mr Coleman to say that he called, and more than any one else, crystallized and organized the committee, and conceived and carried out most of its important measures. As head of the judiciary, and chief justice, he presided at all trials. He stood steadfast always, encouraging and stimulating his associates, although his health and his business suffered severely in consequence. "I urged and directed prudence," he says. "Our effort must be to avoid the commission of an error or commission of an excess in anything; be sure that no injustice be done to any one; better a thousand villains escape than one innocent person perish. If they escaped and decamped, the country would rejoice in their absence. Then, as in all subsequent occasions, I served the public for the public good. I had no selfish, personal aims. I thought only of duty, and in the face of danger—physical, political, and pecuniary—never hesitated a moment, changed my course, or slowed my step. I always defrayed my own expenses, contributed much to the expenses of others, and unstintingly to the public enterprises, which I afterward espoused, and never in any of them would receive directly or indirectly one cent in compensation for all I did or aided in having done."

Mr Coleman's definition of vigilance is as follows: "The forlorn hope of good citizens who, in military form, organize quickly in the face of danger threat-

ened by banded criminals, storm their strongholds, overpower their forces, organize courts, and deliberately and dispassionately dispense justice in legal forms where other forces have failed, and leave the good people free from further fear or embarrassment to resume their normal positions and pursuits."

In 1856 he reannounced what he had said in 1851, as a basis of the proposed work, in the following words:

"Who made the laws and set agents over them? The people.

"Who saw these laws neglected, disregarded, abused, trampled on? The people.

"Who had the right to protect these laws, and administer where their servants had failed? The people.

"The people are the power; it is theirs by birthright, and when they delegate it, it is expressed and implied that upon wrong-doing the servants shall be pushed aside, formally or informally, and their places promptly filled by other and better agencies."

What Mr Coleman most feared was that some of his men would act unadvisedly, rashly, or injudiciously, perhaps harshly. Often he was obliged to remove what seemed to be developing jealousies. In the beginning, there was on hand no money, yet he never lacked means. Some men he pushed forward, and caused others to make motions, and offer suggestions, or volunteer to lead in movements, so that no one, himself in particular, should appear too prominent.

While the men of vigilance were engaged in effecting their organization, securing arms, and drilling for active duty, their enemies were not idle. The day after the shooting, there was scarcely less activity in law-and-order circles than at the rooms of the vigilants. The military companies were called out, the police force was increased, the armories were replenished and put in order, and recruiting and drilling were prosecuted vigorously.

The governor of the state, J. Neely Johnson, was a politician of no very pronounced character, the little that was firm or consistent in him being susceptible to the influence of stronger minds rather than to the good. Coming down from Sacramento, he sent a message to the president of the vigilance committee, asking for an interview at the Continental hotel. Mr Coleman immediately called upon him.

"What do your people want, Coleman?" demanded the governor.

"Peace," replied Coleman; "and we would like it without bloodshed. Outrages are of constant occurrence; our suffrages are profaned, our fellow-citizens shot down in the street, our courts afford us no redress; this state of things we will endure no longer. You are asked by the mayor and others to employ the militia to crush this movement. I assure you it cannot be done. We ask not a single court to adjourn; we ask not a single officer to vacate his position; we demand only the enforcement of the laws which we have made. You know the necessity of this measure; you know the men engaged in it; you know that this is no mob, no distempered faction, but San Francisco herself that speaks. Issue your proclamations, if you feel that the dignity of the law may be best maintained by frowning on justice; declare your manifestoes, if the government can maintain its self-respect only by public protestations against virtue; but leave us alone in our righteous purposes; leave us alone in our shame and sorrow; for as God lives, we will cleanse this city of her corruption, or perish in the attempt. So we have sworn."

"Sir," said the governor, taking Coleman by the hand, "go on with your work. Let it be done as speedily as possible, and my best wishes attend you."

Had the governor held himself to this promise, all would have been well, and ten days would have seen the reform accomplished. But the pressure brought upon the weak official by the men of law and their

satellites was too much for him. They wanted immediate operations; they wanted to fight.

Reliable information soon after coming to the committee that the governor was about to order out all his forces, which he had promised not to do, on the following Sunday the committee met at the jail, and in the presence of twenty thousand people took thence Casey, and another notorious character named Cora, and conveyed them to their rooms, where after a full and fair trial, such as they would have received in any honest court of justice, they were hanged at the hour the body of James King of William was being conveyed to its tomb.

So runs the record to the end of a volume, to which the reader must be referred for particulars. The committee continued its calm but determined course, finding it necessary to execute but four persons, all told, and send from the country some twenty or thirty. The criminal element for the most part became frightened and fled. Similar committees were formed elsewhere, though few acted with the coolness and discretion manifested throughout by the grand tribunal in San Francisco. The whole country was purified of its moral pestilence as if by magic. Honest men breathed more freely, and many a dishonest one quickly reached the conclusion that rascality would no longer pay.

A notable incident of the period, and one which tried the temper of the president and executive committee to the utmost, was the arrest and trial of Judge Terry, of the supreme court, for stabbing an officer of the vigilance committee while on duty. The governor, after having exhausted all his resources to exterminate the mob, as he called it, invoked federal aid, though to little purpose. Yet these impolitic and wholly unnecessary proceedings on the part of officials and their satellites tended all the more to complicate affairs, and render the dangers and difficulties of the reformers all the more arduous.

The federal authorities at San Francisco bay were at first disposed to side with the committee, under the persuasion of Mr Coleman. Later the pressure of the law-and-order politicians caused some of them to waver. The labor and responsibility of treating with General Wool and Captain Farragut was thrown entirely on Coleman, who described to them the movements, ambitions, and intentions of the vigilance committee. They first sent their aids to him, interviews being held at the old Oriental hotel; he also invited each one by turns to drive with him, so that he could speak to them entirely alone; this he continued until they came to a perfect understanding.

Finally, after three months of active operations, the committee adjourned. There was a grand parade of the entire body, a review of the troops by the executive; then the fortress was dismantled, and the military quarters abandoned, the predictions of the law-and-order party as to mobocratic reaction falling to the ground.

But although to most of the members of the committee this was the end, to Mr Coleman it was not so. The law had been broken, and limbs of the law made to sit in sackcloth. Some wicked ones had been illegally hanged; others had been illegally expatriated; many more had been made to suffer in mind or estate, being deprived of the profits on crimes they were illegally prevented from committing. For these sins some one must be made to suffer.

By the steamer of the 28th of August Mr Coleman sailed for the east, laden with the heartfelt gratitude of all good citizens. In New York, suits for damages were brought against Mr Coleman by the expatriated, aggregating a million and a half of dollars, in all of which the complainants were nonsuited and defeated.

After the close of the war between the states, Mr Coleman, who then spent a portion of his time in New York city, was zealous in his efforts toward a

reconciliation between the north and the south, and the cementing of peace on the basis of sympathy. He realized that it would require a new generation to come forward before there would be perfect accord, in spirit and reality, but that much could be done, and in fact good will engendered at once by magnanimity and liberality on the part of the north. Unorganized and fugitive attempts had been made by charitable people to furnish material aid to the destitute people of the south, but with limited success. Mr Coleman conceived the idea of organizing a general and popular movement in New York for the double purpose of benevolence and reconciliation. He waited on the Brown Brothers, bankers, and other leading capitalists and philanthropists. Dr Bright, an eminent minister, with whom he first discussed the plan of the grand charity, waited on Mr Greeley and Mr Beecher, and represented to them that there was a great work before them, not only of beneficence, but of patriotism; that nothing could more speedily and surely reëstablish the actual union between the two sections of the country than kindliness and sympathetic aid and support to those who were in need and were not too proud to accept assistance, of whom there were many. A large mass meeting was held in a few days in Cooper institute, in which Mr Greeley did himself undying credit in the few generous words he uttered. Said he: "It is needless to talk about the war, its faults or failings; recrimination now would be criminal; we must look to the fact that there are in the south two hundred thousand widowed women, and five hundred thousand orphans, in extreme need of food and raiment; houses and fences destroyed, farms despoiled, cattle and all implements gone; poverty, pain, and distress everywhere; in contrast, the north is luxuriating in a superabundance of everything goodly. If the southern people were enemies, and distant enemies, it would become the people of the north to help them now; but we

are all of one nation, one blood, and one faith; we shall be recreant to our duty if we do not come to the rescue generously and at once."

This meeting and similar efforts caused a revolution of sentiment in the city of New York and vicinity; the movement to supply the necessities of the south became general, and popular, and fashionable; it became the furore. Individuals vied with each other in generous rivalry; charitable institutions labored in the cause. Several hundred thousand dollars were raised, and ship-loads of corn, bacon, and other staple supplies were sent south, the Freedman's Bureau being selected as the vehicle for disbursing a large portion of the shipments, ministers of the gospel and other proper agencies doing the remainder. The most touching and perhaps the most effective feature of this activity, in its moral influence, was that it was purposely confined, as far as practicable, to persons who were well known to be most pronounced and uncompromising in their hostility to the south during the war. Those conversant with the workings of this plan subsequently reported, and satisfied all parties of the wonderful good accomplished by it, not only as a charity, but in revolutionizing public sentiment in the south with regard to the people of the north.

When the war broke out, Mr Coleman was among the first to take an unequivocal stand for the preservation of the union at whatever sacrifice. Throughout the struggle he was known and accepted as a vigorous war democrat. He took an active part, and contributed liberally, in raising and equipping troops in the state of New York, and otherwise practically and efficiently demonstrated his loyalty and spirit. Yet, born and bred among southern people, and knowing their virtues, he has never ceased to cherish for them the fondest regards.

Again, in the labor agitation of 1877–8 Mr Coleman was called upon by his fellow-citizens to render them important service by permitting himself to be placed

at the head of a safety committee for the protection of life and property from threatened violence and destruction.

The insurrectionists complained of hard times, reduction of wages, and lack of work; while enterprise languished and manufactories were closed, the rich were becoming richer and the poor poorer. Something or somebody was at fault—some evil influence outside of the complainants themselves; otherwise such a state of things could not exist. The fault could not be in the European, the natural lord of all, nor in the African, the natural servant of all; the mischief, therefore, must lie at the door of the Asiatics, midway between the others, and neither high enough nor low enough to become good American citizens, vote at elections, and govern men. Hence the standing cry against the Chinese became in the streets of San Francisco, as heretofore in the mines, fierce and brutal; and next to the Chinaman the rich man was a bad element in the community.

The country was deeply agitated over the labor question. The great riots on the railways east, and especially the outbreak at Pittsburg, which was the centre of the severest émeute had extended to this coast. The spirit of disorder flew across the continent and settled on San Francisco.

On July 24th a circular was issued by Brigadier-General McComb, calling a meeting of merchants and property-holders that afternoon at two o'clock, at the chamber of commerce. McComb called the meeting to order. It was well attended. William T. Coleman was afterward called to the chair. He did not think great danger was imminent, but the moral effect of organization he fully appreciated. Mayor Bryant expressed the fullest confidence in the law-abiding citizens of San Francisco, but the number of ruffians was larger than was generally supposed, and an increased police force he deemed desirable. The result of the meeting was the formation of a general Com-

mittee of Safety, to assist the civil and military authorities in protecting life and property from the bad element of the city. The police force at this time numbered 150, and the militia under General McComb 1,200; this force was regarded as inadequate for the work in hand.

Mr Coleman had come to this meeting in common with other good citizens, not to take any prominent part in it, but to contribute his aid in a quiet way, his hands being full of business, and hoping no occasion would arise for serious effort. But the occasion was here and fortunately the man. Mr D. O. Mills moved that the whole organization in all its outlines and in all its details be entrusted to Mr Coleman, and the motion was carried unanimously. Mr Mills then told them that a work of that kind required promptness and harmony, great activity, the use of resources without stint, a single head with absolute control, or it would be liable to miscarry. The response was, that such was the object of the meeting and of the movement. Mr Coleman then made a few remarks, in which he expressed great confidence in the people of San Francisco in protecting themselves, in protecting the cause of right, and not permitting wrong to go unchecked; but there must be united action and harmony; there was no time for delay or for lukewarmness. He expressed a faith that with a good organization properly conducted there would be little danger to the town. But that there was some danger every one knew. He expressed faith especially in the mechanics and the laboring classes. He disagreed with some of the speakers on the danger of communism or of mobocracy. He thought San Francisco was especially happy in the possession of an unusually large number of conservative people among the working classes—men who had education, who had property, and intelligence. There were relatively more property-owners in San Francisco to the population than in most other cities, and all knew

the conservatism of land-owners and of those who had established home relations.

Mr Coleman was assured of every support. He accepted the responsibility and quickly crystallized the organization, selecting committees on finance, arms, enrolment, and commissary. Being informed there was an inadequate supply of arms in the city, he applied to General McDowell, commanding United States forces, for the loan of 2,500 stand, but learned it was impracticable. None could be issued except by order of the secretary of war. Such application was immediately made by telegraph, supported by all available influences, which proved successful, and the needed arms were at hand within twenty-four hours.

"This," continued Mr Coleman, "of course was the greatest encouragement, and was a striking example of promptness, the effectiveness of the service, and the confidence the government had in us. The question then arose where to store them, and having prearranged in my own mind that they must not go into the hands of our volunteers, certainly not until they were organized and drilled, and in a reliable position, and even then not until absolutely needed, I sent for the chief of police, and asked how many of those arms he could take care of at his headquarters. His answer being satisfactory, I ordered a thousand stand placed in his charge at once."

Within forty-eight hours there were mustered in five thousand men in companies of 100; command of these was given not only to soldiers by profession, but to prominent citizens, some of whom had high military titles. The governor came to the city, and told Mr Coleman that the power of the city, so far as it could be given, was his, at once, and that the people looked to him. They had learned to know him in previous work of the kind, and they leaned upon him, and the military, in fact, was at his command. Coleman stated that he deemed it prudent for the state

troops to maintain a separate position from the volunteers, so as to promote harmony. His plan was to have the volunteers divided into two or three classes; first, the old soldiers, veterans, of whom there were in the city some two or three thousand, to be held as a reserve guard, to be called the old guard; the mass of the men to be enrolled as militia for prompt action if needed. He wanted a volunteer corps of cavalry; and such artillery as could be obtained and handled. He wanted McComb, then in command of the state troops, to look to him for orders in general, but not in detail. If the forces came into action, then of course the detail work would be his, but when to come to action, if at all, he thought that, as the executive, the determination of such points should be his. All this was accorded and agreed to by the governor. The volunteers were detailed as special policemen, and numbers of them received their badges.

They organized, drilled night and day, established a telegraphic department, with outposts and a staff of correspondents and operators, and went on with the work daily. Independent of the city police, which of course were only a few hundred men, and the special policemen which they enlisted under the immediate orders of the chief of police, there were on guard under general orders, but with coöperative orders of the city police department at all times, an average of five hundred men. General McComb and the militia were anxious for action. They appealed to Coleman to allow them to take the field, but he held them in the barracks, with only the pleasures of drill, and of general display and exercise at opportune times.

Such was the true inwardness, the personal and private workings of this important historical episode, now for the first time revealed to the public.

The proprietors of certain papers were ordered by

the mayor to take down their bulletin boards on which they were accustomed to post insurrectionary news items from the east. One Antonio Quanchi, arrested for violence July 23d, was refused bail, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the police judge.

At different hours of the day large crowds of vicious-looking men collected on the corners along Kearny street and elsewhere, and there was quite a gathering of them in front of the city hall. In the Chinese quarters there was the stillness of death. It was an ominous quiet. The theatres, gambling-dens, and all places of business were closed. Yet John was not dead. With a stoicism born of the centuries, he was preparing to meet the issue. He not only armed himself, but built barricades on the inside of his house, and was ready to fight, for his life or to the death, as the case might be. City, state, and federal authorities, and all good men, were on his side. The police were watchful and active. The methodist mission house on Washington street, where the Chinese were taught, was the object of their special care.

Two hundred rioters met in the vicinity of the mint about half-past nine. Dispersed by the police, they came together again on Eighth street, meanwhile demolishing four laundries. On the Presidio road two Chinamen were murdered and their houses burned. One celestial committed suicide by taking opium, on account of his losses and the troublous times.

Wednesday, the 24th, the riot assumed yet more formidable proportions. A feverish anxiety pervaded the community. Though opposed to club law, the law did not now object to the clubs.

About noon the mayor issued a proclamation:

"San Francisco, July 24, 1877.

"*To the People of San Francisco:* Whereas, great excitement prevails throughout the country, and has extended to this city, and there are present in this community a large class of desperate men and youths who are ready to take advantage of it, and commit crimes against the property and persons of the citizens and residents of the city, it becomes my duty as mayor of the

city and county of San Francisco to appeal to all law-abiding people to assist in preserving the peace, and thereby avoid the necessity of employing the power of the law for that purpose. I trust that in the performance of my official duties I shall not be called upon to suppress a riot, but I certainly shall not shrink from doing so if the occasion shall demand the duty; and in such event I will see that all offenders receive the punishment which the magnitude of such offences requires. But to avoid the exercise of this extreme power, I counsel the citizens to take measures of precaution, to prevent causes of excitement, and particularly to guard against assemblies on the streets and public places. I advise all persons to pursue their usual avocations, or to remain quietly at their homes, and not stand in groups on the streets, as in this way crowds are made, which aid the designs of persons who would promote riots, and also obstruct the movements necessary to prevent or suppress them. I would also say that there is no cause for undue excitement. The city has a force of ten thousand men ready for any emergency. It is only necessary for every one to be quiet and prudent, and aid the authorities when called upon. The city being forewarned and forearmed, any attempt to excite a riot will be crushed at the commencement. I hereby make known that all assemblies and crowds of persons will be dispersed, and should resistance be made, arrests and punishment will follow. In doing our duty, should unfortunately the criminals and rioters resist, and inaugurate bloodshed, on their heads rest the responsibility. The law is supreme, and shall be maintained at all hazards.

"A. J. BRYANT, mayor."

In the evening papers Mr Coleman issued the following address:

"*Citizens of San Francisco:* The Committee of Public Safety, selected by yesterday's meeting at the chamber of commerce, are receiving additional enrolments of good people, and deem it wise to announce the motives and purposes of the organization. Recent events demonstrate that dangers environ us, which may render it necessary for the authorities to use more force than they have hitherto had at their disposal. The mere organization of this force will probably prevent any occurrence demanding its active efforts. Both as a preventive and as a remedy, its existence is absolutely necessary. We have encouraged all good citizens to enroll and prepare for action. The purpose of the organization is to sustain the constituted authorities, undertaking no duty not immediately connected with securing the safety of life and property. It embraces citizens of all sects and all parties, holding all shades of opinion, each ready, in the presence of danger to the public welfare, to lay aside all differences, and to refrain for a time from urging individual views. In common with all the inhabitants of the state, we are embarrassed by what is properly called the Chinese question, and are most desirous to see its early solution in a manner satisfactory to our whole people. We all realize alike the difficulties by which it is surrounded. But however desirable it may appear that this disturbing element should finally be withdrawn, and removed from our midst, we are unanimous in the conviction that violence will not hasten its proper adjustment, and may produce incalculable injury to all. The public peace, and security to life and property in this city, shall be maintained and protected at all hazards. In this purpose every good citizen must concur, and we seek the membership and active coöperation of all such.

"By order of the Executive Committee,

"WM T. COLEMAN, president."

At two o'clock the committee met at the Merchants exchange. The large hall was crowded by men of all trades and professions, representing the

wealth and respectability of the city. The following pledge was signed by all present:

"We the undersigned, citizens of San Francisco, do hereby enroll ourselves as a General Committee of Safety, subject to the requiremets of the special committee of twenty-four, of which William T. Coleman is president; and we do hereby bind ourselves to act with this committee to preserve the peace and well-being of this city with our money and persons."

All day long six streams of applicants for membership poured in upon as many secretaries for enrolment, and before night the number had increased very largely.

There were several anti-coolie associations in the city and throughout the state, of which most of the rioters, as well as many of the workingmen's party, were members. These, in disregard of the mayor's proclamation forbidding such gatherings, issued handbills calling a meeting before the new City hall for this same Wednesday evening. Shortly after seven o'clock they appeared upon the ground to the number of about 800, with lumber and nails, which were speedily thrown together in the form of speakers' platforms. Unmolested by police or citizen, the pastime soon proved tame, and leaving their position, they rushed off on a raid in the direction of Howard street.

During the day and evening orders and reports were conveyed from and to headquarters at the City hall, where were the mayor and chief of police, by the boys of the District Telegraph company, who, mounted on their fleet ponies, commanded universal admiration for their skill and bravery in dodging the missiles of the rioters, and their success in the discharge of their duty. From Garratt's foundry five 12-pound Dahlgren guns and one swivel gun were sent to the City Guard's armory for safe-keeping. A battery of artillery was secretly stationed at the Mechanics' pavilion, to be employed in case the mob became too strong for the police, militia, and safety people. Men and officers were in attendance from six o'clock until two every night.

In Oakland a committee of safety was organized by prominent citizens, assembled for that purpose on the evening of the 24th at the Union club rooms. At San José the people held a meeting, which, though anti-Chinese in its character, expressed its sentiments as law-abiding, and offered its aid to the safety committee of San Francisco. It was determined that no public labor meetings should be held in Oakland until after the present excitement should have abated. The *Pensacola* and the steam frigate *Lackawanna* anchored at the foot of Market street. Archbishop Alemany issued an appeal to his people to preserve order. The associated firemen came to the front, thus doubling the force of the department during the crisis.

Thursday, the 26th, it was determined to resort to stronger measures. The rioters had been hitherto treated too tenderly. When they saw that their lives were not in danger, it became rare sport for them thus to hold the staid inhabitants of this great city by the nose. The board of police commissioners, at a special meeting held this afternoon, resolved to instruct the police to shoot down, without further risk or regard for life, all rioters and assailants.

The following further proclamation by the mayor also pointed in the same direction:

"SAN FRANCISCO, July 26, 1877.

"*To the People of San Francisco:* The lawless and atrocious acts of the vicious and criminal class in this community, committed last night, compel me again, and for the last time, to warn all good citizens against appearing on the streets in large numbers or groups. The object of this caution is, that the innocent may not suffer, and that the streets and public places may be left free and unobstructed for the operations of the police, the military, and the committee of safety, who, I am assured, will see that order is maintained at all hazards. A. J. BRYANT, mayor."

Likewise a warning of similar import was issued by Mr Coleman.

"July 26, 1877.

"The people of San Francisco are earnestly cautioned against being on the streets after nightfall, unless it be in connection with some of the organized companies under the direction of the committee of safety and the regularly constituted authorities. Parents are especially requested to keep at home their boys under age. This is deemed necessary, because more vigorous means

than have heretofore been used will be employed to suppress riotous proceedings, and innocent persons may suffer serious consequences if they do not heed this warning.

"WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, president com. safety."

The number of organized citizens was now 5,000. The day passed quietly. The safety men rendezvoused as usual this evening at horticultural hall, and the enrolment reached 6,500. Every ward, and almost every block, was under special protection. The safety men patrolled the streets, and guarded every dangerous place. There were not less than 4,000 men under arms during the night. Attached to the forces of the safety committee was a regiment of veterans of the war of the Union, placed under the command of Colonels Withington, Hawes, and Goodman, and held ready for severe service.

Money for the support of the movement came in freely, $48,000 being subscribed during the first two days. Several manufacturers, frightened at the demonstrations of the last few days, now discharged their Chinese, and placed white operatives in their place. An attempt was made to fire certain Chinese houses, and to demolish others.

Saturday afternoon the Pacific Mail steamship *City of Tokio* arrived from China, and landed 138 Asiatics, under guard of the committee and the police.

Night came on gloomy with mists portentous of dark deeds. Three thousand citizens were enrolled. The committee were to meet in the evening at Horticultural hall, as usual. Rumors were current throughout the day that the committee would be attacked at that point. At half-past seven all approaches to the building were strongly guarded, and at eight o'clock the room was thronged by a determined assemblage. It was evident that the army of volunteers were impatient for something to do. This impatience was manifested at first by pounding the floor with their pick-handles. Presently Mr Coleman came forward and said that a hundred men were wanted for immediate duty. Instantly to their feet sprang a thousand volunteers.

The hundred were selected, and the rest were directed to separate according to wards, and under their own officers. Calls from the City Hall for men were now more frequent. About nine o'clock the dock of the Pacific Mail Steamship company, whose vessels brought the hated Chinese to our shores, was reported on fire. This was a mistake, but the fire, the work of incendiaries, was raging at that time in the lumber-yards near the point named.

The first active work of the safety men was the clearing of the bluff overlooking the Pacific Mail docks. A bridge connected this hill with First street. The contents of the lumber-yards had been fired, and the bluff was occupied by about 1,500 rioters, who showered stones upon the firemen, police, and committeemen, who were trying to extinguish the flames. In an alley opening into First street a crowd was collected by the firing of a pistol, and there actual fighting began. One charge of the police, and the alley was cleared.

While four or five companies from Horticultural hall were taking their station round the fire to prevent its spreading, the rioters again collected on the brow of the hill, and began to hurl stones upon the citizens. Again the hill was cleared, and again the enemy rallied. Suddenly at half-past ten the cry arose, "Charge the cops!" and down the bridge to First street rushed the yelling throng upon the citizens below. They were met by the safety men, who in return for the pistol-shots fired at them laid about them lustily with their clubs, dropping the rioters on every side. For a few moments the battle raged fiercely, but the safety men being timely reënforced, the rioters were at length scattered. One of the incendiaries, caught cutting the fire-hose, was instantly shot.

During the evening there were several killed and many wounded; among the former A. H. Gudewell, bank clerk, and Samuel Scrouse, teamster. Many on

both sides received pistol and club wounds of a serious nature. It was not the purpose of the police to kill these deluded men, although many of them richly deserved it. There were two encounters on Market street, with about 100 on either side, after both of which engagements the street was strewn with the broken-headed. The Chinese were fully aware of the danger which threatened them. Few of them were seen abroad; their houses remained closed, and new stores of arms and ammunition were added by them to those purchased the day previous. Their pecuniary losses up to this time amounted to about $50,000, while that of the citizens aggregated half a million.

The plan of the rioters was to fire the city, and make their raids and assaults in different places simultaneously. To circumvent these their intentions, flying squads of police were improvised by Chief Ellis and Captain Lees, consisting of large express wagons holding twenty men each, drawn by strong, fleet horses, with outriders and messengers to scour the streets, each in a given direction. Thus they could search thoroughly, more quickly, and in such numbers as to do thorough execution wherever they encountered the enemy. In the vicinity of Tenth and Brannan streets, such a company had an encounter; also one near Folsom and Eleventh streets.

Meanwhile companies organized at Horticultural hall were doing excellent work in other parts of the city. It was a night of terror. Alarms of fire were sounded in various quarters, and stray bullets were flying in every direction.

Many arrests were made; among others two men caught distributing a circular, enclosed in an envelope, and addressed, A Warning. It read as follows:

"*Pro Bono Publico.* The attention of the 1001 will be drawn to any and all premises where Chinese are employed or allowed. Property owners, insurance companies, and employers may make a note of this while there is time, and before the avengers of oppressed labor thunder at your door. 1001."

The workingmen, through their officers, issued the following circular:

"SAN FRANCISCO, July 27, 1877.

"*To the members of the Executive Board of the W. P. U. S.:* I hereby notify you that there will be no meeting of the board during the intense excitement in the city. The committees of correspondence and safety will meet according to programme. The members of our party are requested to abstain from all gatherings on the street, and observe strictly the requirements of the mayor's proclamation. JAMES F. D'ARCY,

"Organizer W. P. U. S., 570 Howard street.

"PAT. J. HEALY,

"Ex-organizer and chairman committee of safety, 303½ Fifth street."

On Monday the 30th of July, the committee of safety, like the vigilance committee, determined to adjourn, but not to disband. The executive head-quarters were retained, and telegraphic communication with all parts of the city continued. The following order was issued:

"EXECUTIVE HEADQUARTERS, COMMITTEE OF SAFETY, SAN FRANCISCO, July 30, 1877. *To ward commanders, captains, and commanders of independent organizations:* The time having arrived when, in the judgment of the executive commander, the forces of the committee should be concentrated, reduced, and relieved as far as possible, therefore, for the public quiet and for the protection of the public property issued to the members of our organization, the following general orders will be complied with at once:

1. Forces, cavalry and infantry, are hereby relieved from active duty, save as hereinafter excepted.

2. All halls, rendezvous as at present hired, will be at once given up, save Horticultural hall.

3. All arms and ammunition issued to members will be at once turned in through the company commanders, who will turn in all arms as fast as received to the chief of police, taking receipts.

4. All clubs and badges now issued will be retained by the members who have them. All police stars to be at once turned into Chief Ellis.

5. No rations will be contracted for or issued by commanders after eleven p. m., July 30th.

6. All bills contracted for by commanders will be made out in duplicate, verified, and sent in to General Coey.

7. Books, papers, and records of any kind to be turned in to General Coey at chamber of commerce, save one verified roll of each company to be held by its captain.

8. Captains will send in a full written report to General Coey of all duties performed, and a general statement of all their official actions, and any information valuable to the public safety, or concerning the committee. Company commanders will arrange their rolls for convenient summoning of their force. On sudden call by messenger, or tap of the bell, the companies will hasten and form in front of their old headquarters, there to await orders. The organization of patrols in blocks, and the employment of watchmen by the neighbors in each square, is an admirable safe-guard. Members are requested to assist all such movements, but in case of general alarm to form at the designated headquarters. WM T. COLEMAN."

Two hundred citizens of San Diego enrolled themselves a committee of safety after the San Francisco pattern, in view of a threatened attack on the Chinese by the bad element of that place.

An offer was made to the board of supervisors by

the bankers of San Francisco to advance a sum not to exceed $100,000 for the purpose of paying the salaries of 150 new policemen at $100 a month, to be selected by the committee of safety, the supervisors to pledge the faith of the city, laying the matter properly before the coming legislature, for its return. The offer was accepted.

On the afternoon of Thursday, the 31st, there was a joint meeting of the executive committee of the committee of safety and the board of supervisors at the chamber of commerce, at which it was suggested that 150 men be added to the police force of the city. The finance committee had collected $75,000, and reported that any further sum necessary could be immediately obtained. But more than was needed was already collected, and a large portion of it was returned to the original subscribers, twenty per cent being the first dividend returned. The question of appointing the extra police, and keeping up the ward influence of the association, was not without significance in political circles.

The following address was prepared in August 1877, by Mr William T. Coleman, to be presented to the citizens of San Francisco:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY,
SAN FRANCISCO, August 11, 1877.

"*To the Citizens of San Francisco:* The past month has been fraught with excitements on the labor question, particularly those of a socialistic character. There was much heated discussion in New York and other Atlantic cities, serious strikes among laborers, riots on the railways, which became serious.

"On the 20th of July, there was a very serious riot in Pennsylvania; on the 21st, another in Baltimore. July 23d, an alarming riot in Pittsburgh, when the railroads were torn up and partially destroyed, a portion of the city burned; the military was called out and repelled by the mob; the railways taken possession of by the mob, and destructions of a very alarming nature were developed. The United States troops were called upon, and there were several conflicts between the combined state and government troops on the one side, and the mobs on the other. On the 24th, there was an alarming riot in Buffalo, and the same day a renewal of the riots in Pennsylvania, and thirty-seven men killed. The same disturbing developments continued in Pittsburgh, and the whole city was threatened. These excitements extended all over the United States, reached San Francisco as quickly as elsewhere, but were not considered so alarming here, especially as the railway forces in this state were in a satisfactory position, and though the Chinese question was troublesome, fears of outbreaks were not at first as much felt as in the Atlantic and western states. Yet alarming reports increased; the papers were full of them; the thought of the country was absorbed in them, and the labor organizations,

and particularly those of a communistic character, were actively in motion. The mayor of San Francisco and the police department saw destructive demonstrations that caused much uneasiness. On Monday, July 23d, the mayor and the chief of police, viewing wild excitement and appreciating the strong feeling of distrust and uneasiness prevailing throughout the community, called on General John McComb, commander of the state forces, and requested him to hold in readiness his entire force, to support the peace officers. After earnest consultation with the mayor and chief, the general felt it his duty to call together our leading citizens, and ask their organized aid in case of need to support the peace and public interests. Their apprehensions were of the gravest character; in case of serious outbreak, their small police force of 150 men, supplemented by a single brigade of the national guard of 1,200 men, could not have maintained order, and strong additional aid would be needed. There were two great wants, men and money. The mass meeting of Tuesday, 24th, resolved unanimously to offer to our civil officers most vigorous support, with one actuating motive, the public safety. Having been called to the chair and by that meeting appointed president, I was charged with the grave duty of directing the entire movement, with absolute control, and asked to appoint a finance and executive committee to aid me in details.

"To the unexceptional character of the members of both of these committees, the self-sacrificing spirit, zeal, and diligence displayed by them at all times in serving under the authority so given me, and by me extended to them, I am able to congratulate the community upon the complete success of the movement thus inaugurated.

"I quickly selected committees on finance, arms, and enrolment, and asked Mr C. Adolphe Lowe to take the chairmanship of the first committee, and proceed with Messrs Spreckels and Bee, to gather the sinews of service.

"The collection of funds was speedily inaugurated, and in a few hours I was able to announce that the liberal response of the public justified me in commencing the organization of a strong force. The gross amount finally collected, as per report of finance committee, was $75,000. As a committee on arms, federal and state troops, I appointed General Coey and Colonels Preston and Sedgwick; on enrolment, Messrs Torrey and Scott.

"I immediately ordered a canvass of the various gun-shops, as to the number and kinds of arms that could be obtained in the city. The answer was, that there had been a large demand for arms by different parties during the past week, many of the best absorbed, and there was only a small quantity remaining, and they were of different construction and gauge, and not very desirable. I despatched Colonel Preston to wait on General McDowell, commanding the United States forces on the Pacific, with a request to advise me what support he could give if we should have a violent outbreak. He said that in view of the absence at the front of most of his small regular garrison, he could at best only furnish a few hundred men, under any circumstances. Colonel Preston was instructed to ask if he could furnish us, in case of need, say 3,000 stand of arms, with equipments and munitions. The general's reply was that he could not issue even a cartridge without orders from the secretary of war, and as his recommendation and request for arms for citizens during the Modoc war had been ignored and refused by the department, he begged to decline telegraphing or asking for arms for us, yet was willing to assist us in any manner possible within his power. This answer caused me great anxiety. I wired Governor Irwin at Sacramento the conditions of affairs here, and urged his immediate presence, and before leaving for San Rafael that evening to prepare my wife and family for my continued and uncertain absence, I gave a few general orders on different matters, and urged upon General Coey a renewal of our efforts to secure arms direct from the government. If General McDowell could not give them we must appeal to the secretary of war direct, and through friends of California. This gentleman, learning from General McDowell that he would not consider it discourteous if an appeal were made direct to the department, immediately communicated with Hon. A. A. Sargent, United States senator, and explained

to him the necessities of the situation, and the vital question of arms and supplies of all kinds, pistols, carbines, rifles; and at my request also several of our prominent citizens wired representatives and senators, asking an appeal to the secretary of war for immediate action in our behalf. On my way to San Rafael that evening, I reviewed the rapid work of the past few hours, considered the outlook and the prospects before us, and briefly laid out the campaign as I thought it should be inaugurated and conducted. I believed we would get the arms from the government; but without them, I felt that we would yet make a success by throwing a large force of citizens into the ranks of the police department, with clubs and small arms. The character of the men, and the numbers that they could rally and put in motion, would have a grand moral effect, and with a known courage and discipline that was displayed on previous occasions, I felt that we could overpower any force that would be brought against us; and supplemented as we would be by the state troops in reserve, and the forces of the government being near also, that we could make a brief and successful campaign. On my return to the city, I found that the answers to and result of the telegrams to Washington the evening before showed the keen appreciation of the government of our situation, and the confidence reposed in our representations, and that a despatch was received during the night by General McDowell from the war department, instructing him to cause to be issued by the proper officer at Benicia supplies of whatever kind the committee of safety might require. General McDowell had wired Colonel McAllister, and McAllister wired me that a requisition for arms and supplies had been made, and that 1,760 rifles and 500 carbines, with ammunition and accoutrements, had been shipped direct to me, and would that night be in the harbor of San Francisco, off Market street, and be issued on the receipt of the proper authorities. With this gratifying assurance, I felt strong, but the next question was, who was to receive and how to take care of these arms.

"The despatch of Colonel McAllister said the arms would be delivered 'on the receipt of the proper authorities,' and as Governor Irwin had just then arrived at San Francisco, in response to my telegram of the day before, I waited upon him, reported the position, and my proposed plans of action, and requested him to receive the arms as the governor of the state, the proper and only competent party to do so, and hold them subject to our requisitions, as necessities arose.

"I then suggested to the governor the advantage it would be to us of having the naval forces coöperate with us, or at least make a demonstration which would be valuable, and after a few moment's consideration and discussion, he wired President Hayes, requesting him to direct the United States vessels at Mare island to take position in the harbor in front of the city, and place the forces thereon subject to his call, to be used in quelling disturbances in case of necessity. In answer he received this dispatch:

"'WASHINGTON, D. C., July 25, 1877.

"'*To Governor Irwin:* I have ordered Commodore Calhoun to place all the vessels at Mare island, with all the forces he has, in the harbor of San Francisco, and to report to you. R. W. THOMPSON, Sec. Navy.'

"And also this to Governor Irwin:

"'I telegraphed Admiral Murray and Commodore Calhoun to same effect. R. W. THOMPSON.'

"As a result, the *Pensacola*, with Admiral Murray aboard, immediately got under way, the *Lackawanna* followed under command of Commodore Calhoun, and the tug *Monterey* followed with Gatling guns and other arms.

"It will thus be seen that within twenty-four hours of the meeting of the committee the secretary of war had amply supplied us with arms and munitions, and within the next day the secretary of the navy had given us three ships of war, fully manned, ready for active coöperation.

"The object and intent of our assembly being to reinforce the civil authorities, and in no way to assume any other power than that of a citizen posse

under their formal control, it was my duty to at once provide men, and fit them for the service. Rolls of membership were prepared and opened for signature, a pass-word was given, badges marked 'committee of safety' were ordered distributed to the men, and under a general authority, given by the mayor and chief of police, our members sent on duty were sworn in as special police. It was my specific aim, and I made it my duty to confine the powers of each member to aiding the police, and in the whole action of the force and patrol I allowed no step to be taken except as by the directions and request of the peace officers, conveyed through me. The membership rapidly increased.

"The governor instructed his adjutant, General P. F. Walsh, to receive and give vouchers for the arms then in charge of Captain Rexford, ordinance officer U. S. A., and to deliver to the proper forces, as I should request and direct: *First*, 600 rifles and ammunition therefor under escort to General McComb, for use of such volunteers as might now enroll in the national guard; *Second*, 1,000 rifles, 300 carbines, 30 pistols, and ammunition for the respective arms, were received at ship's side by Captain Lees, and conveyed under strong guard to the city hall, for our forces and for the special policemen of the city. The balance to remain aboard the government vessel, and until we would require them. The adjutant-general had already, on the 23d inst, responded in behalf of the state to requisitions made by General McComb for 10,000 rounds of ammunition, and by Captain Ranlitt of Oakland guard for 2,000 rounds, Captain Lehe of Stockton guard for 1,000 rounds, and Captain Turner of Chico guard for 500 rounds. Thus at all of those points, as well as our own, provision was made for impending contingencies.

"On the morning of the 25th, I established my general headquarters at the large horticultural hall, Stockton street, arranged complete telegraphic communications, ordered all forces to rendezvous there, and begin the work of military and semi-military organization and discipline. Although it had been my object to first provide arms to cover every necessity, I at the same time determined to dispense with their use as far as possible. I appreciated the difficulties often arising by having military forces in the presence of mobs, excepting only as a dernier resort, when they are needed for actual and effective service. This was in harmony, too, with the nature of our call and organization, to be and act in support of of the police, and not of the military. I accordingly gave orders for the purchase of 6,000 hickory pick-handles, to be shortened and converted at once into large, first-class police-clubs, and to arm every man as a special policeman with clubs and side-arms. I then ordered the entire force into company organizations of 100, to select their own officers and report to me for confirmation, intending their service to be in companies or in detachments, and as soon as these were approved, were ordered under drill and instructions and general discipline, and kept busily at work within the hall, when there was sufficient room, and in the streets adjoining if room were needed. Before night we had a large and effective force, and rationed by the commissary committee, Dempster and Gutte, appointed that morning, and sent out details for active duty, under direct orders of the chief of police, all of which were performed in a creditable and efficient manner. Thus the committee continued increasing its number, and with the rounds of duties, showing that the general plan was correct and effective. An intense feeling existed throughout the city on the night of the 25th, and as the criminal and lawless element were gathered in crowds and squads in every part of the city, causing much annoyance and fear to citizens, I consulted with the chief of police as to the propriety of gathering the crowds and keep them in confinement during the course of the trouble, but found that the prisons and jails would accommodate but few, and there was danger to those already confined there for various offences. I consulted with the commanders of the vessels of war lying off the city front, and they offered to care for and confine on board their vessels such as would be sent to them, to the number of 1,500, and if more, to place them on Goat island, and patrol the island with their small boats. The idle and lawless element, hearing of this movement, and

fearing to be gathered in by the police and naval forces, left the city in large numbers, and for days the authorities were in receipt of telegrams calling their attention to the great numbers of strangers, evidently rough and lawless men, that were reaching the villages and suburbs near San Francisco. Meantime I learned that if these arrests were made immediate legal action would be taken in behalf of the arrested parties, the *habeas corpus* would be brought into play, complications would arise that would give us greater trouble than to meet these forces in the face, treat them effectually on the spot, and thus greatly simplify and shorten the work, and render it much more effective than to have this class thus pose as martyrs of deportation.

"Hearing there were more arms in the city than had been reported to me, I caused a careful and reliable survey to be made of the gun-shops, so as to secure control of the arms and munitions from the access of the mob, and shipped load after load of material to the men-of-war in the harbor, also the guns that were lying in various foundries and chandler-shops along the city front. In the establishment of Little & Keadings I found such a large quantity on storage that I deemed it best not to attempt to move this supply, and therefore, with their consent and approval, I left heavy guards in and around the building, with careful and considerate officers in charge, and imperative instructions, as a last resort in a case of need, to blow the building up.

"Tuesday night passed in these general labors of organization and supply, and on Wednesday, the news from the east still continuing alarming, in our plan of action it was decided to effect ward organizations, to divide the forces now enrolling into companies, to officer them, give them orders to patrol the city, and to furnish such assistance as the chief of police might from time to time require. Following a general plan of ward organization, adopted at a meeting of the executive committee, the city was divided into twelve ward districts, company organizations were effected, halls and rendezvous were selected and opened, clubs and arms were supplied under proper requisitions, and telegraphic communication was established and maintained with the ward headquarters and the chief's office; wagons, couriers, and rations were supplied, and on Wednesday night, as shown by our records and despatches, an average active force of 1,500 members were on duty in outside patrol, or waiting as reserve the call of the chief of police at the headquarters, while the total available force of 5,438 members could, under this effective organization, have been rallied in an hour by the general alarm. It was my plan to keep the bulk of the committee within the ward limits, so as to render local aid, and to act under the telegraphic communications as established and shown by a map.

"Reference to the files of despatches herewith presented will show the feeling of alarm, which was general in the city on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights. Much of the information was received through the chief of police, and as such information of disorder or reports was communicated to me or my adjutant, I either sent telegraphic orders to ward commander to act, or despatched strong bodies of men from the hall to the supposed scene of action.

"The first danger feared was fire, and the second, the gathering of excited crowds which might be arrayed against the police at any moment.

"It was clear that a very general excitement pervaded all classes, and the most careful officials and prominent citizens made frequent reports to me of alarming occurrences or suspicious matters during the three days referred to. From the fact that the criminal classes were in motion, that secret meetings were held, that political agitation was attempted, and the many alarms of fire, together with the continual calls of the chief of police for detachments, I am assured that the public use of the committee on these occasions checked the violent classes, and showed them a large force ready to quell any positive disorder. In our prohibitive capacity, the patrols of the committee undoubtedly prevented lawless gatherings and possible fire and tumult, especially in the more lonely portions of the town. The cavalry forces of the committee, numbering nearly 300 men, patrolled on Thursday

and Friday nights, 26th and 27th, the manufacturing portion of the city and the outskirts. The immense value of exposed shipping and property along the city front naturally suggested precautions against fire, especially as many threats had been made to burn the Pacific mail wharves, Captain Stewart Menzies generously offered to cruise along the city front with the steam yacht *Elaine* and two smaller craft. Crews of special police and committeemen on board these vessels rendered most valuable services.

"It will be thus seen that our precautions against fire were complete. I will make no special reference to the many disorders quelled by our detachments, and where arrests were made and reported at the city hall. The reports of the ward commanders will give these particulars, reference to reports of the chief of police and fire marshal Scannell for details of the many arrests and fires, especially those at Beale and Brannan streets and Pacific mail wharves on the night of the 27th, where companies and detachments of our committee supported the police in the largest and severest engagement of the campaign. We were informed of the enemy's movements, including a proposed attack on our headquarters and barracks. The main attack was designed against the Pacific mail steamship company's properties, because of its connection with the Chinese immigration, and began by firing the large lumber-yards and surrounding combustible material. Their attacking force was large. The firemen and fire brigade were soon in action with all the available police, our forces soon after, numbering seven hundred men, arriving on a double quick in good order, a detachment under General Cobb in the van. The engagement became general, and was stubbornly contested for about two hours, at the end of which time the united forces had cleared the field, routed the rioters in every quarter. Our men displayed coolness, discipline, and courage throughout. Our success was complete, and by midnight the city was quiet and safe. The next day showed general demoralization and discouragement of the lawless element; they were subdued, and the backbone of their movement was broken.

"Beside my duties and labors at our headquarters, and with our own forces, I had nearly every night, at a late hour, a private conference with the governor, chiefs of police, and General McComb, and sometimes the mayor. We reviewed what had been done, and discussed the future. Our views were generally harmonious. The governor, always courageous, cool, and clear, encouraged me with his full approval and support in all my views and plans; the chiefs of police accorded the support of theirs. General McComb, a good soldier, was impatient of his position in having his forces held nightly in the barracks, without participation in the work being done; but I insisted upon our right and duty to prove beyond question that the citizen volunteer with the police forces could and would successfully protect the city and suppress any outbreak without aid of the military, and if so proven might hereafter serve as a useful precedent in the economic systems of American administration. The condition of affairs as they existed on the 28th had fully confirmed this, and justified us then in a cheerful compliance with the wishes of the national guard. Beyond this also, the active forces of our committee were entitled to respite after the arduous and continued labors since our organization, and I suggested to the chief of police that we both withdraw our forces as far as practicable, and ask General McComb to bring his men into the field, and take care of the city for that night, which would indeed from all appearances be the practical end of the active duties of the campaign. I then caused the most careful orders to be issued to all ward commanders to guard their headquarters, secure the arms and property, and to leave the duty of the night to the militia. I arranged that the patrol duties of our cavalry and infantry be discontinued, but that the whole force should be considered as held ready at a general alarm to rally at their headquarters and to report to me by telegraph. I next ordered that complete rolls of each company be turned in to General Coey, that the surplus arms and ammunition be put in order and turned into the city hall, and afterwards that all arms be so turned in and receipts of Chief Ellis to be taken for the same. This was done successfully, and it was

most gratifying to find on the final accounting for all of these arms by the returning officers that every piece received from the government was faithfully accounted for and returned, excepting only one pistol, which could not be traced.

"The night passed quietly. Early Sunday morning, the 29th, General McComb sent following despatch to Chief Ellis:

"'I have reported for duty in accordance with your order, have sent cavalry men to all the telegraph and ward stations, who have reported to me constantly during the night, and report no disturbance. Have sent infantry details to all the headquarters, and they have been relieved at different times during the night. I have three companies on guard here, and strong guards in all the armories. The men in the central hall are sent out to relieve those other stations, thus making a complete patrol of the city. I have received a message from your office signed by Mr Coleman saying that services would not be required after five, A. M.'

"The day proved peaceful and restful, a great boon to our citizens. The storm had passed, and the calm was reassuring. Within five days from the first call, we had organized, armed, gone through successful action, completed our undertaking, established peace, order, and security, and as the signs of danger which had called us out were now passed, we resolved that the returning quiet should see us relinquish our extraordinary powers and public position. The chief of police advised me that he had made a tour of thorough inspection of the different wards, and was satisfied he could then take care of the city. We therefore ordered all ward headquarters broken up, and clubs and material belonging to the committee turned in at Horticultural hall barracks, which alone we retained, closed all outer telegraph offices and the whole commissary department, relieved our men from active duty, authorizing members to retain their committee badges and clubs, and return to the chief all police stars, but notified our entire membership to be watchful, and on call by messenger or tap of our bell to hasten and form in front of their headquarters, and there to await orders, and thus our general activity ended and ceased in quiet.

"The committee is yet alive and in full organization, but the great body is resting; and in event of need, is ready to respond to-day at public alarm, and appear as strong as the occasion may demand. The executive committee continues its labors, in classifying records and gathering the many detailed items connected with the service, closing up its accounts in the various departments, maturing plans for the future safety and good order of the city.

"On the 29th, the governor, after a conference, telegraphed the secretary of navy, tendering thanks, on behalf of the state and the city, for having the naval vessels anchored in the harbor, and announcing that the danger being practically passed, the vessels would no longer be needed. The secretary then ordered them to Mare island. Before sailing, however, we received an intimation that the marines and sailors would, if admissible, like the privilege of a landing and a parade through the city. This was promptly and cheerfully acceded to, and an invitation extended. They landed in force, fully officered, paraded through the principal streets, made a fine display, attracted much attention and hearty applause, and received the civilities and hospitalities of the hour. This was the only parade of troops through the streets during the week, excepting the forces of the committee and of the city police. Even our veteran guard, an organization which is here entitled to special notice, had not appeared on the streets. This was the formation of a strong body of veterans of the late war; tried soldiers from all sections of the country, north and south, numbering about eight hundred men, now mingling harmoniously and fraternally, and forming a strong regiment, fully armed and equipped, with headquarters at Dashaway hall, held as a grand reserve, under the command of Colonel Withington and other distinguished officers, and in their personnel equal to any regiment on the continent to-day.

"This blending of the gray and the blue, in full harmony in a common

cause, without one thought of former differences, presents to us one of the most charming aspects of the day. A field full for fruitful contemplation. I believe that this is the first instance where such cordial relations have so existed, and where former lines of divergence have been so completely obliterated, and esteem it as a matter of earnest congratulation, and eminently Californian.

"From experience and mature study, we are all impressed with the conviction that the future interests of this city demand largely increased police force, equalling at least two men to each thousand of the population, and to this end our committee have devoted most earnest and assiduous attention. We have had much discussion and active correspondence with the authorities, who agreed with us in the main question, but difficulties have arisen in the want of funds or power of the city government to raise funds for extra police, and for this purpose our finance committee have cheerfully contributed $3,500 in cash. The bankers of the city, who with the insurance companies and the members of our own committee, were our chief subscribers, generously offered to further advance funds needed for additional police, provided the officers of the safety committee could and would examine and approve applicants as fitting and qualified. This work has progressed chiefly under the immediate charge of McDonald, Menzies, and Halliday, who have, at a continued sacrifice of their private interests, given their entire time to this arduous duty, while others have rested, and for which they are doubly entitled to the thanks of the community.

"A pleasing feature of our work is the good condition of our finances, which have been admirably administered. The committee, without moneyed aid, directly or indirectly, from the state or city funds, have collected from our own people volunteer subscriptions sufficient to defray all our own expenses, and contribute liberally to the needs of the police department, as well as the militia, and to have now remaining a considerable share of the moneys collected. The committee, at my suggestion, returns this balance to the several subscribers, ratably. My interpretation, which they have been good enough to accept, being that the subscriptions were for a definite object; and that object being accomplished, the remainder of the funds belong to the subscribers, and rightly revert to them.

"And now for our membership. The results prove that your executive committee, their officers, and the great mass of men enrolled in our ranks, were generally alike moved by an unselfish devotion to public duty, and faithfully, diligently, and intelligently wrought out the problem we had to solve, and now merit your highest commendation. Some, of course, with more aptness than others, have been of more relative value to the cause, and of these I desire to make special mention of General Coey, whose services throughout have been invaluable. His sound judgment, quick decision, and untiring activity have proven of immeasurable importance in the position which he held as my adjutant-general and chief aid, and after him, scores and hundreds of others, in their respective positions, have competed closely and worthily, and merit similar approbation, for approbation and a sweet consciousness of having done their whole duty are their chief rewards. Their services have been entirely volunteer, yes, purely a generous offering, without a penny's pay or other moneyed compensation. They have deemed it their high privilege and their imperative duty as Americans to promptly give their physical, moral, and financial aid as tributes for maintenance of peace and good order, and all this being secured, returning quietly to their families and their business affairs, their normal avocations and pursuits.

WM T. COLEMAN."

This is what the New York *Times* says about it:

"It will not be charged to the discredit of San Francisco that as soon as there are symptoms of riot and lawlessness the old vigilance committee is revived. It was this voluntary organization which twice saved the golden city from anarchy and ruin. The police of San Francisco showed their

efficiency in checking the riotous demonstrations on Monday and Tuesday. It was perfectly well understood, however, that behind the municipal authorities was a determined, solid element, which would, at the right time, reorganize the old committee of vigilance, and hang the ruffians with whom it might prove powerless to cope. The hoodlums, unemployed vagabonds, and bummers who infest society thought this a good time to exterminate the Chinese, and burn the docks of the Pacific Mail Steamship company, which as common carrier brings Chinamen there. The prompt action of the vigilance committee prevented a great outrage. The city ought to have done this. It did not; but there is no young ruffian so young that he does not know that the vigilance committee, by whatever name called, would hang him in 1877 as it hanged other brigands in 1856."

Says Mr Coleman: "Among the phenomena notable in California annals, from pastoral days up to the present industrial epoch, none possesses greater sociological interest than the vigilance committees of 1856, and the committee of safety of 1877.

"The full significance of the movement of 1877 has not been appreciated. The causes were very much broader, deeper, and more potent in their influences than has been generally understood.

"It was an agitation among the workingmen, and of a socialistic nature, aggravated by disagreements between the railways and their employés, manufacturers and operators; aggravated further by financial disturbances and hard times, culminating in various serious outbreaks in New York, in Buffalo, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and other places in the east. These all occurred within the space of a week.

"The vigilance committee was a new departure in the jurisprudence of the world. It may be called a compromise between the regular course of law, and the action of the people without regard to it. It was seizing upon the forces of a mob, arresting them in their mad course, harnessing them quietly, and utilizing the powers in the regular form, systematically, coolly, and deliberately. While the law was lying dormant on the one hand, and trampled down and disgraced on the other, the people—the power of all government in our system—determined to execute in form what their servants had neglected to do and had disregarded. It was reserved for California to effectuate a system of *imperium in imperio* altogether unique and untried.

The history of that is written. In 1877 the same people, in the same place, under different conditions, and yet in some regards similar, finding danger from the same elements, but on a grander scale in some respects, determined to act in the spirit of the law, but in a different mode. The state government was in better hands than in 1856; the city government was in better hands. The country generally was in better condition. The effects of the vigilance committee of 1856 had continued and prevailed all the time. The ethics of the state were of a higher order than at the earlier date. The experiences were valuable to individuals as well as to the masses, and when called up for self-government, they demonstrated a capacity again that has few parallels. The men acting in 1877 believed, and still believe, and acted with confidence in the proposition, that of all the peoples in the world the Americans are best fitted for self-government, that of all the portions of the United States, California was the best fitted.

"First, because of the general character of the people that constituted the state from 1848 down. Next, because of the value of the experiences of those people, coming from every state of the union, and from the old world, developing independence of action and thought. Moved always, as much as people can in ordinary conditions of life, by the spirit of patriotism, expediency, and general intelligence, they harmonized, and formed a character of composite citizenship remarkable for breadth and strength. Unhampered by old local influences, and cosmopolitan in their judgment, they had the courage to carry out whatever they conceived to be right. This spirit has been appreciated not only in California, but has gradually overcome conventional doubt and dislike in other parts of the world. The agitation and disturbances of 1877, beginning outside of the state and afterward reaching San Francisco, begot the safety committee, the younger sister of the vigilance committee, in whose name and

under whose banner the people of California sprang at once to the support of the government, and by the prevention and punishment of crime with a promptness, decision, and forbearance rarely equalled, if ever excelled, maintained and established quiet and good order.

"Citizens enrolled themselves with alacrity, in the regular way, as state troops or city guards, much preferring to be volunteers for a brief campaign, as sub-militia or special police, under the constituted authorities than to be compelled, as in the former emergency, to assume independent functions.

"The people of the world know little of this movement, and there are many persons, even in California, who do not regard it in the light in which it ought to be considered. The recent troubles at New Orleans exemplified and illustrated the value of this work, and the estimation in which the vigilance committee of 1856 and the safety committee of 1877 should be held by the country at large. Those organizations held the power of peace in their hands, the first without the continuous approval and, at times, in opposition to the state and city governments, the second entirely in harmony with the state and city governments. Men of the same city accomplished, by different methods, results essentially alike; first, righting wrongs and establishing law, by unstatutory means; and, second, by working hand in hand with the executive departments of city and state; and then retiring, desiring only that the effect of their work might be permanent. It was seen that these efforts left no political shock, no moral damage, and practically no legal difficulties; that they did not demoralize the community; that so far from making or being a spirit of mobocracy, they have in this community obliterated or effaced mobocracy or mobocratic feeling. The mob in San Francisco has not been known in thirty years, except that in 1877, which was stifled in the beginning. The better class of people in California do not look to the

contingency of the mob, and are determined against it. They are ready and prepared to organize and form military forces, if necessary, to deal summarily with a mob, and if the civil and judicial authorities are not sufficiently active, they will furnish the power required.

"Referring to the affair at New Orleans in 1891, there surely was cause enough for prompt and severe action, but the mode adopted was frightfully at fault. Californians may and must forgive it, and tacitly pass it by, not with approval, but with regret. Under the same circumstances the people of San Francisco would have met as the people of New Orleans did. Under stress of similar outrages they would have organized in full force, and in military form if necessary; would have taken quarters; formed a court; appointed a judge and selected a jury, all of good men; called for evidence in the cases that had been before the recreant tribunals; analyzed it carefully; put on trial the people who had been discharged by the perjured jury, taking additional testimony if practicable; given the accused good counsel, the benefit of all doubt that occurred, weighing it carefully, and finally executing those whom they found guilty, deliberately and in regular form. Those found entitled to the least reasonable doubt would have been discharged. If it required 5,000 men in this organization, or 20,000, they would have been found ready. California forms would have been scrupulously observed in the execution of sentence. The criminals would have been allowed time to arrange their worldly affairs, and have had the benefit of the clergy to make peace with their God, if they were disposed to do so. Certainly, this opportunity would not have been denied them, and the execution would have been carried out with such gravity, deliberation, and firmness as to secure therefrom the advantage of a moral as well as a legal triumph, which is all lost by the wild, stormy, heedless action of a mob. The rule of the leading persons comprising the vigilance committee was, that it is

better that a thousand guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should perish.

"It is to be feared that although the world is for the moment condoning this affair, and it is meeting with the approval of a great many people, largely on account of the character of the victims, and because of the surroundings, that very approval, given under these peculiar circumstances, lending so much of assent to the proceedings in general, is likely to engender precipitancy and violence, by encouraging people in other quarters and in other cases to adopt the mode of procedure in the New Orleans lynching, whereas the California fashion, independent of all that has been said and discussed heretofore, has the great advantage of securing time for reflection and thorough investigation. A man in the heat of passion does many things that in the cooler moments of the next day he would be glad to modify or undo. None of the California executions took place within four days after arraignment, except that of Jenkins, in 1851. Every one who had a right to say anything was given an opportunity to do so; time was allowed for a close inspection of testimony, as to all pleas of innocence, justification, or equity, all the moral as well as of the general legal bearings. The New Orleans episode was a demonstration that could be made by any rude party, but the acts of California's committee could only have been matured by men who could govern themselves as well as others—men determined to do right, and to admit of nothing but right. I think that the behavior of the committees of 1856 and of 1877, if thoroughly comprehended and fairly chronicled, will form a record of permanent value, because of its inherent character as well as its unlikeness to other action under similar provocation. If we are to have a reformation in our criminal codes, if we are to have the continuation of the wholesome condition of affairs that has prevailed in California since those episodes in popular administration and self-control, let these

facts be fully comprehended. They suggest, at once, a check and a guide to people excited and in doubt, a stimulus to communities that are oppressed with maladministration to dare the right and forbear the wrong—that is, do as California has done. We will not be hasty, but we will not be turned aside from our purpose. If the administration by the judicial authorities fails us, we, the people, the inheritors of the right, the power, the sovereigns, will gather together, brush aside the men who are pretending to be public servants, and organize and do their work for them. We hold that we have as much intelligence as our representatives. We have placed them in office to administer affairs for us, not for themselves: performing their duty, they continue where they are; failing in their duty, they have but a fixed term at the most, and if their failure is too gross, too complete, we will displace them in a day, in a moment, if necessary. The rights of persons must be respected and the community protected; the law must be executed; and the people themselves will do it if their servants will not. In the brisk progress of the world under present tendencies, the servants of the people manifest a deplorable lack of honesty or comprehension in allowing crimes and fraud to continue unchecked until private citizens, impatient of the evils existing, take the control in their own hands, seize and execute criminals without form, appeal to the world for justification, and are vindicated. The uprising at New Orleans really illustrated this, because, as wild, hasty, impatient as that demonstration was, involving immense liabilities in different forms, it met with the quiet, silent approval of a large portion of the people.

"God forbid we should ever again need vigilance or safety committees. The people of California do not want them. Those who organized and controlled these movements appreciate the undesirability of all such proceedings as fully as any one can, and would never have recourse to them except in extreme

necessity. If the officers of law but do their duty, there will be no occasion for them, and mobs will be told in history only. But so long as our system continues cursed with the legerdemain of the courts, and the law is delayed in the most harassing manner in rehearings, new trials, technical appeals, and other schemes in vogue to thwart justice, hope is liable to lapse into despair, and serious danger follow. The extent of these dangers no one can foretell. The wrongs endured, the forces brought into action, the circumstances surrounding them, may produce results much less satisfactory than those that fell to the lot of the people of California.

"In this state, which is young, and covers such an enormous and thinly settled territory, persons and property were, as a general rule, secure to a degree unsurpassed anywhere else under like conditions. The citizen was safe wherever he went; women and children could walk the streets of the city at any hour without molestation. One might roam over the state with confidence, undisturbed except by some wild mustang of a Mexican, or some convict who had crept away into a corner. From 1856 to 1877, California was exempt from popular disturbance or fear. From the time that the committee of safety gave up their organization up to the present, we have had no general or local disorder necessitating immediate and heroic remedy. And much the same may be said of the Pacific coast at large, the sentiment and influences affecting which are apt to take form in San Francisco. But while Californians, by asserting the popular supremacy, accomplished all that could be hoped for in the restoration of law and order, the manner in which they proceeded was their chief gratification. The fact that the committee of safety acted in complete harmony with and were the ally of the government renders it absurd to stigmatize their organization as mobocratic. If the state authorities had lived up to their promises, the committee of 1856

would also have performed their functions in concert with the representatives of the government. It was the pride of the safety committee that they were able to bring into action, in consonance with existing law, practically the same powers that had crowned the vigilance committee with success. An incident not now often recalled affords additional evidence of the California spirit in dealing with disturbers of the peace. In October 1851, a large crowd of sailors and sailors' friends got together in a rage, and would have wreaked their vengeance on Captain Waterman, of the ship *Challenge*, for alleged cruelty to his crew. The mayor of San Francisco, finding the municipal forces inadequate to cope with the mob, asked the services of the vigilance committee, as a *posse comitatus*, and in a few minutes the mob was dispersed. Other communities can be relied upon to maintain peace and good order if the state authorities have the discretion and good judgment and the breadth to incorporate the people as active aids in crises; the grand result being that every good citizen can thereafter consider himself a part of the practical working of the machinery of the state, and however occupied, at his bench, his plough, or desk, be ready to stop and enter the service of the commonwealth, if only for a day. I look upon this feature of adaptability as a source of infinite strength in Americans."

With our cosmopolitan population, holding strata of heterogeneous and unassimilated elements, we may expect occasional disturbances. Efforts at agitation under different pleas and pretences may be put forth. The disaffected may assemble and proclaim their varied grievances, but all such are historically warned to pause and reflect; to be sure that their course is just, and that their action will not be a trespass upon the rights of others.

During Mr Coleman's later business experiences, the character of trade in California became greatly changed. From grass to grain, and from grain to

fruit was the general course of traffic, with precious ores intermingling; and Mr Coleman's being the leading business, naturally took the lead in handling whatever the country produced.

From the very first he had great faith in the agricultural resources of the state. As he came from the sandy plains, over the Sierra, and down into the valley of California, and saw the great oaks and thick underbrush, although the grass was dry, and unfit as he supposed for fodder, he said, "Wheat will grow here." Venturing a similar remark later, in the mines, his listeners laughed at him. "How do you expect grain to grow where there is no rain in the summer?" they asked. "Where wild oats grow six feet high, and ripen, you may be sure wheat will grow," Coleman replied. "Besides, did not the missionaries grow grain, and Sutter, and the Russians at Bodega?" Likewise when he went down to the bay, and saw only Chile flour and Sandwich island potatoes, he said, "Some day I will handle products of California, and load ships with them." Few, however, had the inclination or ability to see or reason on the subject, having come to the country to dig a season or two and then go away; so that it made little difference to them if flour fluctuated between $25 and $300 a barrel, between San Francisco and the mines, or if cured meats were 25 cents or a dollar a pound, and vegetables from 50 cents to two dollars a pound, while at their very door was soil which would produce the best wheat in the world.

"I had the pleasure," says Mr Coleman, "of presenting at the grain exchange in New York the first samples of California wheat ever seen there. I was a member of the exchange. This was in the early fifties. It attracted much attention and commendation. Mr David Dows asked me how much we could raise, and I told him that our product would be more than that of any state in the union in a comparatively short time."

"What will you do with it?".

"We will send it to Liverpool in competition with New York."

"How can you do that?" they asked, while ridiculing the idea.

"First, we can deliver grain in San Francisco as easily as it can be delivered at Chicago or St Louis. The freight from Chicago to New York ranges from 25 to 45 cents per bushel. We can lay it down in Liverpool at about what it costs to get your grain to New York."

"That is impossible."

"No, it is not, for the reason that California is now an importing state, and nearly all the vessels trading with us take nothing from San Francisco but ballast, or a cheap return cargo. Grain freights thence become very cheap."

The proposition was plain and true to a point. The best vessels in the world were sent to California; the Pacific trade evolved the fast-sailing clipper, with her sharp prow and trim sails. Crops, for the most part, could be brought by water from the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, and from the country around. These facilities of course were confined to points near water navigation. The Coleman line began in the fifties, and did a very large business during the sixties. It was not a wheat line. The vessels of this company took from California return cargoes, for the most part, of ores, manganese, wool, and hides. Ores came from Nevada, some from California, and went to the smelting-works in New Jersey, Baltimore, and other points east, and to Swansea. At the beginning, not only in their business, but in all business, ships coming to San Francisco depended on their inward cargo to repay them for the round voyage. Some received sailing orders in San Francisco to go to Manila for sugar, to China, India, and divers ports of the Pacific. Some of the ships returned via the gulf of Mexico, taking woods. Long lines of vessels went

direct to the Chincha islands, off Peru, and other islands and cities, for the Atlantic ports and other places.

In due time small shipments of wheat were sent with the ores, until enough was raised to make full cargoes of grain alone. Soon wheat had reached the foremost position in exports. Yet every vessel leaving obtained if possible other goods to make a mixed cargo, especially minerals, which they used as ballast or flooring, so as to raise the cargoes above damage from the water in the lower part of the vessel, but then, as now, while there are many wheat cargoes that go without any other merchandise, many ships take as a portion of the cargo the productions of the coast which are not prejudiced by nor prejudice wheat in turn. Prominent among these is salmon in cans, and preserved fruits in cases, which are stored in the upper part of the vessel.

Meanwhile the business of William T. Coleman and company assumed gigantic proportions. They had houses at Astoria, Los Angeles, Riverside, and in New York and London. They acted chiefly as factors, making advances in money on bills and shipments to New York and other Atlantic ports, and to Europe. They occasionally made ventures on their own account, but not to a large extent, excepting on cargoes of wheat, which they often owned entirely.

Mr Coleman practically inaugurated the foreign trade in Pacific-coast salmon, and held the leading place in it for a long series of years.

Wool, as a product of California, at one time held a very conspicuous position in our traffic, but now the lands have become not only too valuable for sheep-raising, but for most kinds of agriculture; fruit now is king. Hides were also prominent and profitable before tanneries were established on the coast. In early times the country about Hollister and Santa Bárbara had large sheep ranges, and indeed all along the coast range. So in regard to wool, the woollen

mills in due time established on the coast absorbed a portion of the product. Of many articles Coleman and company assumed control, not as manufacturers, but chiefly as agents for others. But it was with a view more especially to the proper distribution of canned, dried, and preserved fruits, that their several agencies were established, in which products as the yield continued to increase, more and more, they dealt in very largely, handling the entire crop of large areas, and the output of many of the canneries.

The line of sailing ships between New York and San Francisco, known as the California line, which Mr Coleman established in 1850, was well supported by his California friends; within twelve months from the sailing of the first ship his house was at the head of the shipping business between the two coasts, doing more than any other, and in fact the majority of the business. He also included in this enterprise a line of vessels from Boston, not as strong as that from New York, and had vessels also from Philadelphia and Baltimore. These lines were continued for several years, as long as it was profitable. He did the largest share of the export business from San Francisco by sail during the latter part of their activity on this line.

In 1858 there was a great outcry on the part of California against the Pacific Mail Steamship company. The charges for passengers and freight, and the imperious manner in which the business was conducted, made it extremely unsatisfactory. Indeed the company declined to receive any freight whatever from New York, unless it went through the hands of the express companies, and at a cost of from five to fifty cents per pound. Mr Coleman was then very active and prominent in New York. His office at 88 Wall street was the headquarters of Californians. He kept a register, and most Californians called and left their address. He was a general reference on all matters Californian. The people of San

Francisco discussed frequently the project of a line of independent vessels, say screws, between New York and San Francisco, via Panamá. These discussions crystallized one day in the meeting at his office of a number of leading Californians who were present in New York, and he was asked if he could not get up a line. He answered that he could do so with proper support; this was pledged, and he was requested to go forward. He laid out a plan for a line to consist of eight screw steamers, each of 3,000 tons capacity, five of them to be on the Pacific, and three on the Atlantic side. They should be run for freight exclusively. Then, instead of carrying from San Francisco and from New York, in each ship, the coals for the outward as well as return cargo, he determined to retain that space for freight, so far as possible, by having coal-hulks in reserve at Aspinwall and Panamá, so that the steamers could coal there afresh. This was a new idea to the P. M. S. S. Co., as far as related to Aspinwall. Coleman gave considerable time to arranging an elaborate pamphlet, which he issued, introducing a number of economies, and differing from the methods of the old line. All large shippers were met on even terms, with rates reduced to one fourth, and in some instances to one tenth, of the rates charged by the old express company. The policy was approved without qualification. The plan was sent to San Francisco, and there met with commendation. Then came the question of raising the money; and another one: "Who is to be the agent of this line?" Answer, "Coleman." "Oh, well, he is getting it up for himself." He then said "Gentlemen, I do not want the agency; give it to some one else; I have enough to do; I will subscribe what I can, but carry this through, like men, and don't be children over it." Soon after Captain Comstock, the captain of the port for the Pacific Mail company, called on Coleman, and asked for a pamphlet of the new line. He gave him one. Then Mr

Headley of the Panamá railroad wanted one. Provisional rates of freight over the railway had been arranged; it was the chief difficulty and expense. Then Mr McLane, president of the Pacific Mail wanted a pamphlet. The result was that they held a conference; were alarmed at the outlook; were awakened to the reforms that were possible in their mode of business. The next trip of the Pacific Mail steamer saw the adoption of some of these reforms; they despatched vessels with coals to Aspinwall, and kept them there. They reduced the rates of freight. The result of the movement was that within a year the administration of the Pacific Mail company was entirely changed, and its steamers were taking freight from New York to San Francisco at reduced rates, which have since then fallen at times to ten dollars per ton.

Mr Coleman has done much in different ways toward the material improvement of the state. As early as 1851–2, he bought, filled in at a great expense, and reclaimed the tide-lots at the corner of California and Front streets, and built the large, fireproof warehouse which he long occupied. He was his own architect, selected the best material obtainable, and finished what was at the time the largest and confessedly the best warehouse on the Pacific coast, at which he could, at moderate rates then, obtain full fire insurance, which at the time was difficult to do on any building within the city. He did much other similar improvement, but his grander works were probably his enterprises in Marin county, when in 1871–2 he bought for cash some eight thousand acres of land, four thousand of which lay in a solid body, reaching from the heart of San Rafael to the bay on the eastward. He there projected an extension and addition to the town, employed the best landscape engineers in the state, laid out Magnolia and other parks, with broad avenues and streets and roads, about thirty-four miles in extent, and planted about

275,000 trees, 75,000 wine grapes, and built on the north side of Tamalpais mountain the Marin county water-works, which supplies the entire country around. He took the leading part in building the Sonoma and Marin railroad from San Rafael to Petaluma, afterwards in building the Hotel Rafael, and in other general improvements, thus creating one of the most beautiful and desirable suburbs on the coast.

Numberless incidents might be cited where Mr Coleman has given his time, money, and energetic efforts for the promotion of the interests of California and Californians, some of which efforts were appreciated and remembered with gratitude—it were hardly to be expected that all of them should be. No one man ever did more than he in this direction, and it is safe to say that no one in the community has more friends than he; no one who has lived through his times and experiences, and who has undergone trials by which men's integrity, character, and manhood are crucially tested, such as he has passed through, has survived the ordeal with brighter record or better name.

It is worthy of remark that in none of Mr Coleman's public efforts did he ever gain a penny, directly or indirectly; under no consideration would he accept pecuniary reward. His efforts were all for the good of the community, though they cost him much money, time, and labor. He would not, in any of his public enterprises, handle money at all. He always selected a good man for treasurer, and paid his full share of all expenses, frequently the larger share.

During the times of the vigilance committees Mr Coleman had been called a law-breaker, mobocrat, and strangler; but he was no more deserving of such epithets then than now, when assuming the leadership of law and order against open violence. He was as much in accord with the law and the existing form of government in the one instance as in the other.

A friend has written of him: "From early youth Cincinnatus was his model, a preference for home life,

with a sense of duty, and fitness to take the field, fill the forum, or lead in council. Prompt to offer life and fortune for needs of the state, he was ready to retire as soon as duty would permit. Once having entered on a work, he would see it finished, but when accomplished no temptation could induce him to remain, except absolute public necessities, the duties of which no one else present could satisfactorily perform. In great emergencies he thinks quickly, acts promptly, all his powers of body and mind rush to the front with force, the perceptions are acute, the will strong, temper calmly cool, and heart without fear."

Fifteen years ago I wrote in *Popular Tribunals* the following words, which I find no occasion at the present time to modify in any degree: "His early life was the school of business experience, a hand-to-hand conflict with fortune, where lusty strength was guided by wits newly whetted each morning for the day's encounter. During this part of his career I find no trace of questionable transactions, of business aberrations, or of those double dealings, not to say fraudulent failures and downright swindles, which stain the early record of so many who have since achieved pecuniary success.

"On the contrary, Mr Coleman's life has been one of honorable example from the beginning. Brought into prominence by superior skill and application, both at home and abroad his good name has ever been a shining mark for calumny, yet always one from which the fiery darts of evil-minded men fell harmless. No man has done more to elevate the standard of commercial morals in California, or to strengthen the commercial credit of San Francisco. During the eastern financial panic of 1857, when confidence was shaken and California's' reputation particularly low, Mr Coleman with a few others wrought in New York an entire revulsion of feeling concerning Pacific coast credits. If there be one whom it were safe to

hold up as a model Californian, this is the man. Throwing himself into the vortex of adventure with all the ardor of high ambition, and with a mind of that highly tempered metal susceptible of the keenest edge, carefully avoiding meanwhile the shoals upon which so many noble characters are wrecked, who was a fitter chief than he? In honesty, practical sense, and presence of mind, he was not surpassed by any of his associates.

"Combining in a remarkable degree moral and physical courage, he was capable of extraordinary success. Without the slightest approach toward rowdyism, without pugilistic proneness in heart or in manner, preferring to the last moment the logic of mind to the logic of muscle, keeping his fine physique under the coolest control of intellect, he could, nevertheless, upon the failure of argument, employ the ultimate appeal with consummate force. In the Burdue-Stuart affair, as we have seen, his preparation for the combat which he saw brewing on that Sunday morning was to go home and change his Sunday clothes for his every-day apparel; yet in the hot exercises of that day none were cooler, none mingled more earnestly in the exciting duties, and none did more to quiet the troubled sea.

"If there be one quality more detestable than another to the average Californian mind, it is the quality of meanness. A man may be lax in his payments, having a dull sense of honor, of integrity; he may be immoral, dishonest in a dashing way, or even a fire-eater with human blood upon his hands: if he be not niggardly, abject, or socially sordid, all else may be forgiven him. On the other hand, no matter how intelligent, how learned, or pious or wealthy or temperate, no matter how exact in the fulfilment of all monetary and other obligations, if he be what is currently called mean, reptile-blooded, selfish, soulless, let him be anathema. California is not his country; unless, indeed, as some seem to

do, he covets contemptible distinction, and revels in an atmosphere of odium. I do not say that this is as it should be; I say that it is as it is.

"Mr Coleman is a man of intellect, of sound practical understanding, of genius if you like, and if his path had led through the more abstract realms of mind he would have made his mark in any one of the various fields of intellectual ambition, of science, statesmanship, or jurisprudence. To a thorough education early acquired he added general information; he was eminently intelligent and skilled in all the ways of commerce.

"When work was to be done he was one with the workers; saying not 'Go thou,' but 'Let us go.' In non-essentials he was in all respects yielding, but on vital points of policy or principle he was as the rock of Gibraltar. He liked to have his own way, as we all do, but his way was usually the best way. When he could not have it, however; when his associates ruled against him, as was frequently the case, he yielded with as good a grace as any man I ever knew. Though conciliatory toward inferiors, and toward those who follow well, should any attempt coercion he could be as haughty as a prince of Persia. . . . .

"In physique he presented a figure which would be remarked in a senate chamber, or in any gathering of cultivated men anywhere on earth. Of good stature, large, symmetrical in form, with a high intellectual forehead, and eyes of illimitable depth and clearness, his presence was always imposing, and would indeed be felt as awe-inspiring were it not for the visible good-humor that radiates from every feature. He is a man; place him anywhere you will, and he fills the position. Yet with all his commanding presence he drops to the level of his associates, whoever or whatever they may be, with instinctive grace and dexterity. In him unite, more than in any other man I ever met, the dignity of

sincerity with genial affability. He is essentially the most natural of men; there is nothing artificial about him, nor is there the slightest trace of affectation."

Among the many positions of honor conferred upon him were the presidency of the California Pioneers, the presidency of the Chamber of Commerce, and the presiding officer of numerous temporary organizations. He was three times nominated as regent of the state university, was requested to accept the major-generalship of the state, and often urged to serve as mayor, governor, and United States senator, but declined them all.

William T. Coleman married Carrie M. Page in Boston on the 11th of August, 1852, and was blessed with seven children—four boys and three girls —only two of whom, however, attained maturity, namely, Carlton Chinn, now associated with his father in the management of his affairs, and Robert Lewis, graduated with honors in the class of 1891 at Sheffield, Yale.

Mrs Coleman came from an old and honorable ancestry both in England and in the United States; her father, Daniel Dearborn Page, was born in 1790 at Parsonville in the state of Maine. When still in his youth, Mr Page sought the advantages afforded by Boston, then as now the principal city of New England. Here he married, on the 11th of April, 1818, Deborah Nash Young, born in Scituate, Massachusetts, in 1792, and a lineal descendent from Peregrin White, who was born in 1620 on board the *Mayflower*. Peregrin's father, William White, was a son of John White, a bishop of the church of England.

Mrs Coleman's parents, after their marriage, crossed the Alleghany mountains and settled themselves at Louisville, Kentucky, where they remained about two years, then went to St Louis, and after a short visit to New Orleans, they returned to St

Louis, and there established their permanent residence. Mr Page displayed great business qualifications, building the first water-works of the town, and becoming largely interested in a number of manufacturing enterprises, and in the improvement of landed property. He was elected the first mayor, holding two terms. In 1845 he founded at St Louis the historical banking firm of Page and Bacon.

Little remains to be said. The history of this life carries its own moral. Dull, indeed, must be the mind that cannot draw lessons from it. A noble youth, developing into noble manhood, bearing along and being borne by trains of events in which were involved the most important issues of mankind—the biography of such a man is a gospel from which all who study it may find food for the better part of their nature, and draw therefrom the essence of inspiration.

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CHAPTER VI

ADVENT AND AGENCY OF LAW

EVOLUTION OF SELF-SUBORDINATION — POPULAR TRIBUNALS AND MILITARY RULE—LIFE OF STEPHEN J. FIELD, THE GREAT APOSTLE OF THE LAW — EARLY EXPERIENCES — FOUNDING OF MARYSVILLE — ELECTION AS ALCALDE—CONTROVERSIES WITH TURNER AND BARBOUR — COURSE AS A LEGISLATOR—ON THE SUPREME BENCH OF CALIFORNIA—ASSOCIATE-JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES—CODE REVISION COMMITTEE—ELECTORAL COMMISSION—SHARON-HILL-TERRY LITIGATION —NEAGLE-TERRY TRAGEDY—INFERNAL MACHINES—PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND TRAITS.

IN our investigations concerning the origin and under-currents of progress, we have frequently found ourselves in the wilderness alone with the products of civilization, the adjuncts thereof, being absent. A community whose members, like the members of other communities, were born under the dominion of law, suddenly awakes to the fact that it is living without law; that individuals thus thrown unexpectedly together, in a country where no law exists, must as best they may, become a law unto themselves. Thus arose popular tribunals, being, in many instances the outcome of attempts to administer non-existent laws.

Prior to the ownership of the United States, the strip of southern seaboard which constituted all that was occupied by civilization in Alta California, was ruled by priests and soldiers, with a small sprinkling of legal lights, whose official status was seldom above that of the ordinary alcalde. Subsequently, and to the time when gold was discovered, the country was

Stephen Field

nominally under military rule, though the influence of Stockton at Los Angeles, Mason at Monterey, or Persifer Smith or Riley at San Francisco, was not felt far away from salt water. The great interior, the valley of California, and the Sierra foothills, were practically without law or the administration of justice.

Among the builders of our western commonwealths, there are none whose names are more worthy of being placed on record than those by whom were formulated the constitution and laws of California. It was not until two or three years after the gold discovery that law and justice existed in their proper sense. For the former we depended largely on the regulations framed by mining camps, and for the latter on the administration of Judge Lynch. For forms a few home precedents sufficed, and for the settlement of differences courts were improvised, in which judge and jury, selected from the miners by the miners themselves, rendered their decisions with promptness, if not always with equity. In 1851, however, there was enacted by the first legislature elected after the admission of California to statehood, a complete code of civil and criminal procedure, the provisions of which have, with slight modifications, remained in force until this day. To the author of that code, Stephen Johnson Field, not only as its author, but as the founder of our judicial system, and for the third of a century himself a member of the judiciary, it is but due that more than passing mention should be made of his career.

Mr Field was born on the 4th of November 1816, at Haddam, Connecticut, where his father, the Reverend David Dudley Field, was an eminent congregational minister. His grandfathers, Timothy Field and Noah Dickinson, were captains in the war of the revolution, the latter receiving his baptism of fire under General Putnam in the French and Indian war. It was playfully remarked among the members

of the family, that Stephen's mother, Submit Dickinson Field, had been wrongly named, since she was a woman of great energy and determination of character. She is described by those who knew her as a singularly beautiful woman, possessing a graceful figure, an expressive countenance, and a happy, buoyant temperament, so that Grace or Hope would have been a more appropriate appellation than Submit. Her children regarded her with the greatest affection, and felt that they inherited from her their ability to work hopefully in the midst of adverse circumstances. Doubtless, too, they owe much of their success in life to her training and example.

> "Happy he
> With such a mother! faith in womankind
> Beats with his blood, and trust in all things high
> Comes easy to him."

In the early half of the present century the minister's family was in most New England villages the centre of intellectual and social life. If he were the graduate of a college, he expected to entertain the alumni at his simple board when they visited the parish, and scarcely a month passed without some distinguished guest being admitted to the inner circle of the parsonage. When he travelled from town to town the abode of his brother clergyman was always open to him, as indeed was that of anyone with whom he chose to sojourn, for in every country house was one spare room at least, and in most of them were several. Thus, while his income was small, and the external conditions of life were rude, neither he nor his family were denied the advantages of social intercourse.

Perhaps a less thoughtful couple than Dudley Field and his wife might have allowed their children to sink below their own level in the little town of Haddam, where they lived during the first fourteen years of their married life, since it was neither a wealthy nor a cultivated place, its inhabitants being mainly composed of farmers, sailors, stone-cutters,

and ship-builders. But in this modest household, amid the stone-quarries of the Connecticut valley was always maintained as high a standard of culture and refinement as in the homes of the wealthy and long descended. A graduate of Yale, the minister not only maintained his connection with his alma mater, but extended them to other associations, becoming vice-president of the historical society of Connecticut, and corresponding member of the historical societies of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Stephen, his seventh child, was frail and delicate, and that he survived the period of infancy was due to his mother's tender and constant care. When he was three years old the family removed to a larger parish at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and it was probably due to this change to the bracing air of the Berkshire hills that he grew to be a sturdy, active boy. His life varied little from that of other minister's sons until he was thirteen years of age, when an event occurred by which his early career was largely determined.

At that time the Greeks had but recently thrown off the Turkish yoke, and Byron's death at Missolonghi, and Marco Bozzaris' struggle for freedom on the classic field of Ilatœa were events still fresh in the minds of men. It was then that his brother-in-law, the Reverend Josiah Brewer, for years a missionary to eastern countries, and one deeply interested in the education of Greek women, was about to set forth for Greece, the Ægean islands, and the coast cities of Asia Minor. At the suggestion of David Dudley, his elder brother, who had ever at heart the interests of the younger members of the family, it was arranged that Stephen should accompany him, with a view to prepare himself for a professorship of Oriental languages. Gladly did Mr Brewer and his wife consent, for with both of them the boy was a favorite, and with him at their side they would feel less acutely the bitterness of their voluntary exile.

Ever afterward Stephen retained the most vivid impressions of this trip to Greece, regarding it as one of the most interesting events of his life. Here he learned to speak modern Greek fluently, keeping a journal in that language, and also acquired the elements of the Turkish, French, and Italian languages. One of the effects of his visit to Athens and its vicinity were to make him tolerant of the religious opinions and customs of foreign nations, and to give him a breadth of mental vision which enabled him to comprehend and sympathize with the feelings and prejudices of alien races.

Young Stephen was also an eye-witness of the devastations of the cholera which raged in Smyrna about this date, visiting the sick and dying in company with Mr Brewer, and carrying medicines for their relief. His brother, Henry Martyn, in his *Record of the Family,* thus describes in a single paragraph the horrors of the dread epidemic. "In the terrible plague of 1831," he writes, "every one avoided his neighbor, as if the slightest touch carried contagion. If two men met on the street, each drew away from the other, as if contact were death. Sometimes they hugged the walls of the houses, with canes in their hands, ready to strike down any one who should approach. All papers and letters coming through the mails were smoked and dipped in vinegar before they were delivered, lest they might communicate infection. Even vegetables were passed through water before they were taken from the hands of the seller."

After residing for more than two years in the east, Stephen, by the advice of Mr Brewer, returned home to enter an American college and fit himself for life in an American community; for a longer residence abroad, while his character was forming, might not be of much advantage. Entering William's college, Massachusetts, in 1833, he was selected to deliver the Greek oration in his junior year and the valedictory in the senior year, thus winning some of the highest

honors in the gift of his alma mater. Doubtless his acquaintance with modern Greek materially assisted him in the acquisition of the ancient tongue, for as Schliemann, the archæologist, remarks, the study of that language is the master-key with which most readily to unlock the treasures of Homer, Sophocles, and Plato.

Fortunately the plan of the professorship of Oriental languages seems to have been abandoned soon after his graduation, for, in the following spring, he began the study of law in the office of his brother David Dudley. His legal training was interrupted by a severe illness, and for a time thereafter he was a teacher in the Albany female academy. But even while teaching he devoted his spare hours to preparing for his chosen profession in the office of John Van Buren, then attorney-general of the state of New York.

After Mr Field was admitted to the New York bar, his brother admitted him into partnership, and for seven years they were associated in pleasant business relations. Doubtless this partnership would have continued for some years longer, but that Stephen was infected with the restlessness of youth, feeling that he had not yet found his life-work, longing to revisit Europe, and lay aside for a time at least the cares of his profession.

It happened that in June and November, 1845, the elder brother had written two articles, entitled "The Oregon Question," and the "Edinburgh and Foreign Quarterly on the Oregon Question," both of which were published in the *Democratic Review*, a noted political and literary magazine of that day. While preparing these articles he had become familiar with the geography of the Pacific coast, and foresaw, in the event of the United States obtaining possession of California, the rapid development of the region around San Francisco bay, although the wildest imagination could hardly have foreshadowed the reality of

its marvellous growth. "If I were a young man I would go to San Francisco," he observed, offering to pay his brother's expenses and invest in property for his benefit. But Stephen was intent on going to Europe. Some time thereafter, while the New York regiment was preparing for its westward journey, the elder brother again referred to the matter, and proposed that Stephen should accompany it; but again he declined, for though strongly tempted by the offer, he was not yet ready to cast himself adrift in that direction. Strange as it may seem in one so young and with his way still to make in the world, Europe, with her wealth of historic scenes and associations, with her works of ancient and modern art, was more attractive than the native wilds of California, with all her golden possibilities. Thus, in June 1848, he again embarked for the old world.

But the fates had already spun the web of his life with invisible thread, and he could not escape his destiny. At Galignani's news-room, in Paris, he read in the New York *Herald* President Polk's message, officially announcing the discovery of gold in the newly acquired territory of California. Over and over again, he read it, regretting that he had not accepted his brother's offer; but even as Lord Howard of Effingham, when news arrived that the Spaniards were in the English channel, directed his officers to finish their game of bowls before proceeding to attack the armada, so did our young traveller quietly complete his projected tour, visiting all the principal capitals of Europe, and returning to New York in October 1849.

On November 13th of this year we find him on board the *Crescent City*, bound for Chagres, and crossing the Isthmus he continued his voyage on the steamer *California*, one of the patriarchs of the Pacific Mail company. Although the ship was only of 1,000 tons burden, she carried 1,200 passengers, and such was the demand for berths that some of the steerage

passengers sold their tickets for $750. To make matters worse, the Panamá fever in its worst form broke out on board the crowded vessel, and now, recalling his experiences in Smyrna, Mr Field went fearlessly among the passengers, ministering to their wants. By one of them, who later became a prominent San Francisco lawyer, it was never afterward forgotten that to his care and skill he owed his life.

It was on the 28th of December, 1849, when the future chief-justice landed in San Francisco, his worldly effects consisting of the contents of his trunk, and for capital, the sum of $10, of which $7 were paid for the transportation of his baggage to the single room, some ten feet by eight, which he shared with two of his fellow-passengers. For breakfast, and that the cheapest that could be had, he expended two of his remaining dollars, and then with a single dollar in his pocket set forth to make his fortune, a stranger in a strange land. But he was not in the least dismayed; in fact, he had seldom been in higher spirits, and soon caught up the refrain that was upon every one's lips, "Is it not a magnificent country?"

Certain of his fellow-passengers had barely stepped on shore when they were impaneled upon a jury, and received eight dollars each for their services. Thinking of his solitary dollar, Field lingered in the court-room, and placed himself near the sheriff, in the hope of being called upon to do the state some service as a juror; but in vain; his time had not yet come. So that day he spent in strolling through the town, by no means in disconsolate mood, but on the contrary, enjoying everything he saw. As he passed down Clay street and had nearly reached the corner of Kearny, his attention was attracted by the sign "Jonathan D. Stevenson, Gold Dust Bought and Sold Here." Then for the first time he remembered that his brother had given him a note against Stevenson for $400. He had been well acquainted with this man in New York, and at once entering his office,

they had a pleasant chat together, in the course of which Stevenson remarked: "Ah, it's a glorious country! I have made over two hundred thousand dollars here." When Field heard this, he again shook hands with his friend, and felt the note burning in his pocket at the glad news. A moment later he presented it. But the face of him who dealt in gold-dust lengthened when he read the document which bore his signature, and his appearance was by no means that of a man who could meet with unconcern so trifling an obligation. It is impossible to say what were the feelings of the other at that moment; but at last Stevenson exclaimed in a sharp voice: "that's my signature," and began to calculate the interest. Finally he paid Mr Field the principal and interest, $440 in Spanish doubloons.

Out of these funds Field paid $300 as one month's rent for a law office on the corner of Montgomery and Clay streets, but during that time his only client was a fellow passenger who requested him to draw up a deed. He was fortunate enough, however, to sell, through an agent, some New York papers at a dollar a piece, from which he realized $34.

Among his letters of introduction to various San Francisco firms, was one to the mercantile house of Simmons, Hutchinson, and company, who owned some property in the embryo town of Vernon, on the Sacramento river, and offered to sell him a number of lots on credit, giving him a ticket with which to proceed on their steamer *McKim* to Sacramento city. Reaching that point, on the following day he embarked for Vernon on the steamboat *Lawrence*, a craft so small and crowded that she sank to within eighteen inches of the level of her deck, while the passengers were requested to remain quietly in their seats.

It was the year of the great flood, and Vernon was under water; so the boat continued up the river to Nye's rancho near the junction of the Feather and Yuba rivers. At this point forty or fifty of the pas-

sengers left the boat, and among them Mr Field. Here he found some five hundred people, most of them living in tents. The travellers made their way to an old adobe building, in which was an office where a real-estate speculator had spread out on the counter a map of a proposed town which he called Yubaville. Addressing Field, he urged him to buy some of the lots. "Suppose a man puts his name down and then does not want to take the lots?" inquired Field. "Oh, you need not take them if you don't want them," was the answer. Thereupon he put down his name for sixty-five lots, the aggregate value of which was $16,250. At the moment he had exactly $20 in his pocket. Immediately the report spread around Yubaville that Stephen J. Field, a great capitalist from San Francisco, was investing heavily. Two of the proprietors of the place, Frenchmen, named Covillaud and Sicard, when they found that the San Francisco capitalist could speak French fluently, expressed for him the warmest admiration, and insisted on showing him the town. Mr Field was not slow to observe that here was a promising site, at the head of steamboat navigation, easy of access to the mining camps, and destined soon to become a point of distribution for mining supplies. In exchange for the courtesy extended to him, he handed the Frenchmen some copies of the New York *Evening Post*, in one of which was the following notice:

"Among the passengers leaving in the *Crescent City* to-day is Stephen J. Field, Esq., of this city, brother and law partner of D. D. Field, Esq., one of the commissioners of the code of practice. Mr Field is on his way to San Francisco, where he proposes to practise his profession and take up his future residence. If he should realize either the hopes or the expectations of the numerous friends he leaves behind, he will achieve an early and desirable distinction in the promising land of his adoption."

The next morning M. Covillaud came to Mr Field in

an excited manner, with the paper containing this notice in his hand. "Ah, Monsieur!" he exclaimed, "are you indeed the Monsieur Field, the lawyer from New York, mentioned in this paper?" It seemed that the two Frenchmen had purchased several leagues of land from Captain Sutter, but were obliged to wait for a lawyer before they could obtain a conveyance of their property. Thus they were delighted to find in the new-comer what they so greatly desired, and at once engaged him to prepare the necessary documents, meanwhile despatching messengers to Sutter. But, the deed being drawn, it was found there was no official before whom it could be formally executed, and no place or functionary where or by whom a record of real estate transactions might be preserved. With his promptitude and fertility of resource, Field at once pointed out to the members of the new community the necessity of electing an officer for such purposes, and also to maintain order and settle disputes.

His suggestions were made known, and immediately accepted with enthusiasm. It happened that the frame of a house had been brought upon the steamer *Lawrence*, and on the next day was erected. Here in the evening all the tent and cabin dwellers were assembled and Mr Field made them a stirring speech, in which he set forth the natural advantages of the place, and showed the importance of organizing and establishing a government. If one has ever watched the rise of a city in California and noted with what eagerness the inhabitants regard the increase of population, he will understand with what enthusiasm the project was received. It was agreed to call a meeting before the adobe house the following morning, and Mexican forms still being prevalent in California law matters, two candidates were nominated for the office of alcalde—C. B. Dodson and Stephen J. Field. Each of them had his supporters, and, while Field was the favorite, there was one objection which, for a moment, threatened to prove fatal. He was a new comer, having

been in the town but three days, while Dodson had been there six days! At this juncture, one William H. Parks, who was engaged in transporting miners' supplies, made a bet of a dinner with a friend that Field would be elected, and directed his eleven teamsters to work and vote for his man. The election was hotly contested, but Field was finally chosen by a majority of nine.

The next important question was as to the name which should be given the town. Yubafield, Yubaville, and Circumdoro were the most popular ones proposed; but the matter was decided by a plain, old-fashioned argonaut, who arose and gravely informed the meeting that there was an American woman in the camp, and that her first name was Mary; therefore he proposed the town should be called Marysville in her honor. It would not have been the California of olden times, had not this proposition been unanimously adopted. A certificate of election was made out in due form, and forwarded to E. O. Crosby, the prefect of the district, who advised Mr Field to procure his appointment as justice of the peace, and so Americanize his office, which was done. How far was the step from a Marysville justice of the peace to a Washington justice of the United States supreme court, the sequel will presently explain. Here it need only be stated that after his election Mr Field went to Sacramento, and was sworn into office as first alcalde by the judge of the court of first instance, on the 22d of January, 1850, just twenty-five days after his arrival in California.

Property in Marysville rose rapidly in price, and within ninety days Mr Field sold more than $25,000 worth of land, while still retaining the greater portion of his lots. Purchasing in San Francisco some frame and zinc houses, he shipped them to Marysville and soon derived therefrom a rental of $1000 a month. His income as alcalde was considerable, for though when acting as judge in criminal cases he received

nothing, and in civil cases but little, his fees for affidavits, acknowledgments, and recording of deeds amounted to a very good revenue. In the then disorganized condition of affairs, all sorts of questions were brought to him for settlement. Controversies over the rates of wages, the expulsion of squatters, trials of criminals, even disputes between man and wife were brought under his jurisdiction. Substantial justice was administered without strict regard to forms and precedents, which sometimes obstruct rather than promote the ends in view. In the peace and good order maintained, and the respect shown for law, Marysville was the model town of California during the entire period that Mr Field was chief magistrate. He continued to perform the multiform duties of his office until superseded by the new officers of the state government.

And now, as to the administration of justice, the quiet town of Marysville was destined to witness a new and somewhat lively dispensation. Upon resuming his practice at the bar, Mr Field paid a visit of courtesy to the newly appointed judge of the eighth judicial district, William R. Turner, who had lived in Texas in the rough pioneer stages of its history, and was a violent pro-slavery man, arrogant, ignorant, of bad manners and worse morals. Mr Field presented him with copies of the latest issues of the New York *Evening Post*, and from this fact Turner inferred that he was an abolitionist, then deemed by the southerners the vilest of created beings. Hence he deliberately determined to insult him whenever the opportunity should offer, and the occasion was not far to seek. It chanced that the ex-alcalde was employed by Sutter, as counsel in the suit of Cameron vs. Sutter, then pending before Judge Turner, and a preliminary motion in the case was made by Field's associate, which was denied. Surmising that a provision of the practice act applicable to the question had been overlooked by the

court, Field arose and asked permission to read it. But instead of according permission as a matter of course, Turner, in insulting tone and language, ordered the attorney to sit down; whereupon the advocate, in a respectful manner, excepted to the ruling of the court, and stated that he would appeal. This added fuel to the flames of Turner's wrath, and in a loud and angry voice he shouted: "Fine that man $200." "Very well," quietly remarked the other, and for this he was sentenced to an additional fine of $300, and imprisonment for eight hours. A similar response by the lawyer elicited another outbreak from the judge, this time with a fine of $400 and imprisonment for twelve hours. A protest from the victim, that it was his right to appeal from the order of the judge, and that to take exception to a decision and give notice of appeal could not constitute contempt of court, was construed into an aggravation of the previous offending, and the judge cried out: "I fine him $500 and commit him twenty-four hours—forty-eight hours,—turn him out of court,—subpœna a posse,—subpœna me!" Field thereupon left the court-room, accompanied by his associate in the case, and was followed by the deputy-sheriff, who, at the express order of Turner, put him under lock and key, —that is, he locked up the ex-alcalde in his own office. Being thus technically imprisoned, a writ of *habeas corpus* was sued out, and Field was brought before the county judge, Henry P. Haun, by whom he was discharged, the officer having no warrant for his arrest. This proceeding coming to Turner's ears, he hurled vengeance upon all concerned, and particularly on Judge Haun, to whom he applied the vilest epithets, declaring he would teach that fellow his position as an inferior judge.

When the district court next opened, Turner made an order that Field be disbarred, for suing out a writ of *habeas corpus* to secure his own release from imprisonment, and that two other attorneys be also

disbarred for testifying upon the return of the writ before the county judge, whom he fined $50, and ordered imprisoned for forty-eight hours. Haun paid his fine, and left the court-room, while Field was taken into custody by the sheriff. Another writ of *habeas corpus* was issued, and Field a second time brought before the county judge. On this occasion the sheriff, by the direction of Turner, proceeded to the court-room, and while the judge was presiding over his own court, attempted to arrest him and drag him from the bench. But the judge rose to the occasion, and stepping to a closet drew therefrom a navy revolver, pointed it at the sheriff, and declared he would shoot him dead if he persisted in enforcing the orders of Turner. He also imposed a fine of $200 for contempt of court, and appointed a temporary bailiff, who promptly ejected the sheriff and his party. In due time the matter of disbarment was brought before the supreme court, and Turner's orders were annulled. During the interval, however, the effect of these disgraceful proceedings of Turner was to ruin the practice of Mr Field. Such was justice in the early days of Marysville and in the metropolis, and elsewhere in the state scenes equally outrageous were of no unfrequent occurrence.

Upon the reörganization of the judicial districts, Turner was transferred from Yuba county, and Field was no longer brought in contact with him. A few years later, when Mr Field had become a member of the supreme court and the validity of Turner's election to his new district came before the appellate tribunal for decision, the former refused to sit at the hearing of the case, but left the decision to his associates. Soon afterward Turner, who was surprised and overcome by the forbearance of one to whom, of malice aforethought, he had given serious and unprovoked offence, endeavored to effect a reconciliation; but the latter felt that the injuries and indignities he had suffered could not be lightly excused, and

repelling the advances of his old enemy, simply remarked to him who acted as mediator that the world was wide enough for both, and that each one would go his own way. In 1867, resolutions with a view to Turner's impeachment for gross judicial misconduct were introduced in the legislature, but action thereon was forestalled by his resignation, and soon afterward he ended his days an inmate of an inebriate asylum.

It might have been supposed that after such a controversy, the result of which so thoroughly vindicated Mr Field, there would be no similar experience in store for him. But law, like all things human, is founded on antagonisms, and there was much feeling in California in those days between men from the north and those from the south. In accordance with the provisions of the law of 1851, reörganizing the judicial districts of the state, the counties of Yuba, Nevada, and Sutter constituted the tenth judicial district, of which, through the influence of Judge Field, Gordon M. Mott was appointed by the governor the first judge. In the autumn of that year, an election was held, at which William T. Barbour, a lawyer of Nevada county, was elected to succeed Mott, who refused to surrender his seat, on the ground that his successor could not be legally chosen until the election of 1852. The views of the latter were upheld by Field, who appeared as his counsel when the question was brought before the supreme court. Hence was aroused the most bitter hostility on the part of Mr Barbour, one that was entirely unwarranted, was without fair ground of provocation, was without just cause or reason, for, as it will be remarked, Judge Field was acting only in his professional career, and as is the case with all reputable members of that profession, doing for the cause of his client everything that lay in his power.

In the following year Barbour was again elected, when he began to use the most violent and abusive

language against Mr Field, who had labored zealously for his opponent. The quarrel ran high, and finally the conduct of the judge became so utterly intolerable that there remained no alternative but to send him a challenge. An hour or two later Charles S. Fairfax waited on Mr Mott—the two being chosen as seconds—stating that, after consultation with his principal, the conditions proposed were a meeting that very evening in a room twenty feet square, the participants to be armed with Colt's revolvers and bowie knives. Both seconds agreed that these terms were barbarous and unprecedented, but Barbour would listen to no others. Judge Field, however, knew his man, and convinced that his bloodthirsty proposition was merely the subterfuge of a coward, instructed Mott to accept. This being reported to Barbour, Fairfax presently returned with certain modifications of the terms. First of all, his principal would agree to dispense with bowie knives; then for the first time it occurred to him that to fight in a room would be improper, because the firing might attract a crowd. Would the challenger consent to other arrangements, solely, of course, with a view to avoid a disturbance of the public peace? Finally it was arranged that the meeting should take place the next morning in Sutter county, Barbour taking one of the Sacramento stages, and his opponent proceeding by private conveyance to the appointed rendezvous. At the time and place agreed on, Field appeared on the ground, accompanied by his second, and soon afterward Barbour and Fairfax alighted from the stage, which then passed on some distance down the road. But now occurred another change in the programme. Instead of proceeding to business, Barbour declared that his judicial office forbade him to engage in a duel, but that in defense of his person he would kill his assailant! with which valiant proclamation, he walked down the road to the stage and proceeded on his way to Sacramento, leaving his second, Fairfax, standing

alone on the ground, in sore amaze at this unexpected but fitting conclusion to the drama.

But the end was not yet. Taking Fairfax into his carriage, Mr Field returned to Marysville, where the incidents just narrated soon became known, and the conduct of Barbour was the occasion of much humorous and sarcastic comment. A few squibs appeared in the Marysville *Herald*, at which Barbour was greatly enraged, and demanded the name of their author. To oblige him, Field instructed the publisher to credit the authorship of the obnoxious paragraphs to himself, although in fact he knew nothing of them until they appeared in print. A day or two afterwards, when in front of his office, he was suddenly accosted by Barbour, who placed a revolver near his head, exclaiming, "Draw and defend yourself." Nothing daunted Field calmly informed him that he carried no weapon, and that he could do as he pleased. But again, as in the case of his prototype, Bob Acres, the judge's courage failed, and like the Arab in Longfellow's poem, he "silently stole away."

There was a number of witnesses to this affair, one of whom, a friend of Barbour's, Mr L. Martin, wrote to Judge Field in March 1854, a letter, in which, among other things, he said: "Judge Barbour told me the night before that he expected to have a street fight with you, and wanted me to accompany him. I had heard of his conduct in the affair of his intended duel in Sutter county, and knew that there was bad blood between you; but I was astonished at his saying there was going to be a difficulty between you in the street. I consented to accompany him, but I supposed of course you had received notice of his purpose, and that there would be no unfair advantage taken by him. I was therefore surprised when I saw you in front of your office with your arms partly filled with small pieces of wood, apparently to kindle a fire. Barbour's drawing a pistol upon you under these circumstances, and calling upon you to draw and defend yourself,

was not what we call in the south very chivalric. It was not justified by me then, and never has been in any way or manner, and I told him he had acted badly. I was glad to hear you defy him as you did, and dare him to shoot."

About a year afterward Barbour attempted to explain, and as far as possible to excuse his conduct, and at a subsequent meeting between them expressed great regret at what had occurred. Although, of course, no real esteem could be felt for such a man, Field was perfectly willing that here the matter should end. When they met for the first time after an apology was made, he said, as they drank a glass of wine together: "Here is to an act of oblivion, but no explanations." Ever afterward Barbour spoke of him in the highest terms, both personally and professionally.

These episodes in the life of Mr Field, while displaying some of the strongest traits in his character, serve also, as he himself remarks, "to illustrate the semi-barbarous condition of things in those early days, and by comparison show out of what our existing condition has been evolved, and how far we have advanced."

Soon after the termination of his duties as alcalde, Judge Field received the nomination for the assembly from his district; and although not backed by any organized political party, made a vigorous and successful canvas. Immediately after his election to this the first legislature chosen after the admission of California to statehood, he began the preparation of the law subsequently to be enacted, relating to the judiciary. Upon the assembling of that body, which took place on the first Monday of January 1851, at San José, he was appointed a member of the judiciary committee, and to it submitted a carefully prepared bill creating the judicial system. The committee reported favorably, and it passed into law, remaining in force in all its essential features until the reörgan-

ization of the judiciary by the new constitution of 1879. In fact, it may be said that fundamentally it is in force to-day. Besides dividing the state into eleven judicial districts, in which the geographical and topographical conditions and relations of localities were carefully considered, the jurisdiction of the various courts, from that of justice of the peace to the supreme court, was specifically defined.

Following this, in due logical order, came the civil practice act, now called the code of civil procedure. The magnitude and importance of this work can only be appreciated by those who have studied the history of judicial procedure in England, and in the older states of the union. Law reformers, from Jeremy Bentham to David Dudley Field, have devoted the highest ability and the widest learning, with unremitting labor, to the accomplishment of those changes which they felt to be necessary to the adequate and speedy administration of justice. At this time David Dudley Field had been only partially successful in securing the adoption of the reformed methods of judicial procedure in New York, and the practice in civil cases in that state is still governed by rules drawn from different sources,—the code, the revised statutes, and the general principles deduced from decisions in common law and equity, besides the special rules promulgated by the various courts themselves.

To frame this bill, as the one prepared by Stephen Field, required not merely a theoretical knowledge of the subject, drawn from books, and a practical acquaintance gained by experience and observation in court, but the power of clear and concise statement and definition. The problem to be solved was to set forth the rules in language scientifically accurate, which should avoid metaphysical subtlety on the one hand and loose phraseology on the other. That it was successfully solved is proved by the fact that it stood forty years after its compilation substantially as it came from the hand of its author, and that it has

formed the basis of the codes of other states and territories.

Next came the criminal practice act, now in force under the name of the penal code. The object in view was to simplify the procedure, so that the community should be protected by the prompt and legal punishment of the offenders, while at the same time every safeguard was thrown around the accused, shielding him from the dangers of local prejudice and sudden popular fury. Like the judiciary bill and civil practice act, this required ample knowledge of the subject and the faculty of clothing it in apt scientific phrase. After devoting to this work the necessary labor, there was barely time to introduce the bill during the closing hours of the legislative session; there was not even time to read it, but such was the confidence reposed in its author, that the rules were suspended, and the bill was read by its title only and passed. It then went to the governor who said he had not time to consider it before the adjournment of the legislature, and was disinclined to approve it without examination. Thereupon Mr Field, knowing how important it was that the bill should become law, in order that the efficiency of the measures already passed might not be impaired, urged the governor to sign it, and to this he finally consented on the personal recommendation of the author.

Among the most beneficent provisions of the civil practice act were those relating to miners, and those exempting certain property from forced sale for the payment of debts. The first required the courts to recognize and enforce the customs, rules, and usages of miners in actions respecting mining claims, providing such customs, rules, and usages were not in contravention of the laws of the state, or of the United States. The second exempted from forced sale under execution furniture and books of $100 value; necessary wearing apparel, and provisions for one month; the implements, wagons, and teams of the farmer; the

tools of the mechanic; the instruments and chests of the surgeon, physician, surveyor, or dentist, and the articles necessary for the work of the miners and laborers.

"I never could appreciate," said Mr Field, "the wisdom of that legislation which would allow a poor debtor to be stripped of all needed articles of his household, and of the implements by which alone he could earn the means of supporting himself and family, and of ultimately discharging his obligations. It has always seemed to me that an exemption from forced sale of a limited amount of household and kitchen furniture of the debtor, and of the implements used in his trade or profession, was not only the dictate of humanity but of sound policy."

Besides these most important measures, Field drafted and secured the passage of an act relating to county sheriffs, declaring and defining their duties and responsibilities in the execution of process, in the detention of prisoners, and as keepers of county jails. To him is due the enactment of a law concerning divorce, in which, besides adultery, extreme cruelty, habitual intemperance, wilful desertion, and wilful neglect, were made sufficient causes. He also drew up the charters of the cities of Marysville, Nevada, and Monterey, all of which were adopted. Finally, he secured the passage of many necessary laws introduced by other members of the legislature, notably that concerning attorneys and counsellors-at-law, whereby they were effectually protected from the infliction of such injuries as he himself had suffered at the hands of Judge Turner, making it impossible to deprive a lawyer of his right to practice without notice of the charges against him, and full opportunity to be heard in his defense. The principles embodied in this statute he afterward thoroughly vindicated, when he had become a justice of the supreme court of the United States, in the case of one Robinson, reported in 19 *Wallace*, in which, while

fully upholding the courts in the just exercise of their powers to protect themselves by the summary process of contempt, he enforces the basic principle of all free government that no man shall be condemned unheard.

His legislative duties completed, Mr Field returned to Marysville, and declining all offers of political preferment, devoted himself exclusively to his profession. Owing to his troubles with Turner, which, as I have said, completely destroyed his practice, and to the miscarriage of some of his business ventures, he found himself about $18,000 in debt, upon which he was obliged to pay interest at the rate of ten per cent per month,—his creditors with one exception, exacting from him their pound of flesh. Many a man would have become disheartened, and have abandoned further effort; but he never for a moment faltered, denying himself all but the barest necessaries of life until he could say that what he possessed was his own. Gradually his practice increased, so that it became in time one of the most lucrative in the state, and in less than three years he had paid off all his debts, which, with the enormous rate of interest, aggregated the sum of $38,000. In no instance did he ask for a reduction of that rate; nor was it offered to him, except in the case of a brother advocate, who holding his note for $450, refused to accept more than five per cent a month.

At that time the Marysville bar included some names which have since become well-known throughout the state. Among them were Richard S. Mesick, afterward district judge of the state of Nevada; Charles H. Bryan, for a short time judge of the California supreme court; Jesse O. Goodwin, author of the Goodwin act; William Walker, filibuster, and grey-eyed man of destiny; E. D. Wheeler, subsequently judge of the 19th district court, and Thomas B. Reardon, who became judge of the 14th district court, and presided at the second trial of Laura D. Fair, in place of Judge Dwinelle.

Mr Field was a safe counsellor and a model advocate, and his clients soon learned to repose confidence in his judgment. He left nothing to chance, or to what has been facetiously styled "spontaneous combustion." He had no faith in the vulgar conception of inspiration; to him, success signified the legitimate consequence of logical thought and untiring industry. Not that he believed that thorough preparation was incompatible with such flashes of rhetoric as are evoked by the fervent heat of intellectual controversy. Such masters of forensic eloquence as Erskine, Pinkney, Choate, and O'Conor—not to speak of the living—attained their proud preëminence in their profession only through constant and well-directed labor. In a word, they had mastered the law, both as a science and an art.

Such was Stephen J. Field at this early day, when everything pointed to his successful career as an advocate, and if he had declined all offers of promotion to the bench he might speedily have amassed an ample fortune. But he had identified himself with the interests of the new state of California to such an extent that he preferred to take whatever position would best subserve the commonwealth. At that time California needed good advocates less than she needed good judges. Immense grants of land had been bestowed by the Mexican government upon a few favored individuals. Some of them were comparatively well defined, while others, like that of Las Mariposas, which included Fremont's claim, were undetermined, and afterward the subject of bitter and protracted litigation.

Settlers, squatters, and miners crowded into the state by thousands, taking whatever land seemed to be unoccupied, often evicting the true owners, whom the United States had promised by treaty to protect. In the words of Judge J. Black: "When the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo came to be ratified,—at the very moment when Mexico was feeling the sorest

pressure that could be applied to her by the force of our armies, and the diplomacy of our statesmen, she utterly refused to cede her public property in California unless upon express condition that all private titles should be faithfully protected. We made the promise. The pledge was not only that the government itself would abstain from all disturbance of them, but that every blow aimed at their rights, come from what quarter it might, should be caught upon the broad shield of our blessed constitution and our equal laws."

Statutes had to be framed in respect to miners, which should protect their peculiar industry, and at the same time have due regard to the rights of the tillers of the soil; charters had to be drawn for new cities, and, in a word, all that goes toward the making of a civilized state had to be crowded into a single decade. The condition of affairs when Field accepted the position of judge of the supreme court of California is thus described by a jurist of the day:—

"The calendar was crowded with cases involving immense interests, the most important questions, the most various and peculiar litigation. California was then, as now, in the development of her multiform material resources. The judges were as much pioneers of law as the people of settlement. To be sure, something had been done, but much had yet to be accomplished; and something, too, had to be undone of that which had been done in the feverish and anomalous period that had preceded. It is safe to say that, even in the experience of new countries hastily settled by heterogeneous crowds of strangers from all countries, no such example of legal or judicial difficulties was ever before presented as has been illustrated in the history of California. There was no general or common source of jurisprudence. Law was to be administered almost without a standard. There was a civil law, as adulterated or modified by Mexican provincialisms, usages, and habitudes, for a

great part of the litigation; and there was the common law for another part, but what that was was to be decided from the conflicting decisions of any number of courts in America and England, and the various and diverse considerations of policy arising from local and other facts. And then, contracts made elsewhere, and some of them in semi-civilized countries, had to be interpreted here. Besides all which may be added, that large and important interests peculiar to this state existed,—mines, ditches, etc.—for which the courts were compelled to frame the law, and make a system out of what was little better than chaos.

"When, in addition, it was considered that an unprecedented number of contracts, and an amount of business without parallel had been made and done in hot haste with the utmost carelessness; that legislation was accomplished in the same way, and presented the crudest and most incongruous materials for construction; that the whole scheme and organization of the government and the relation of the departments to each other had to be adjusted by judicial construction,—it may be well conceived what task even the ablest jurist would take upon himself when he assumed this office."

In 1857, Mr Field was elected judge of the supreme court of California for a term of six years, commencing January 1, 1858; but a vacancy occurred requiring an appointment for an unexpired term of three months next preceding the commencement of the term for which he had been elected. Judge Field was thereupon pressed to assume at once the duties of his office, and to this he reluctantly consented, receiving his appointment from Governor Johnson, who was a political opponent, and taking his seat on the bench on the 13th of October 1857. Some two years later, when Judge Terry, who in the mean time had become chief-justice, resigned in order to fight the celebrated duel with David C. Broderick, which created almost as much of a sensation throughout the land as did

that of Hamilton and Burr, Mr Field became chief-justice.

It is not necessary to give an account of the many important cases decided by Judge Field during his term of five and a half years as judge of the state supreme court. Among those decisions, however, may be mentioned the famous case of Biddle Boggs *vs.* Merced Mining company, in which was involved the title to a valuable portion of the Mariposa grant, claimed by Fremont. A most elaborate, learned, and interesting discussion, by counsel and court, of English, Mexican, and American law, is contained in the report of the case, which comprises more than one hundred closely printed pages of the 14th volume of *California Reports*. The legal acumen and close logical reasoning displayed therein affords matter of the deepest interest to the public, no less than to the professional reader.

Among other cases worthy of mention are those of ex parte Neuman, 9 Cal. 502, and ex parte Andrews, 18 Cal. 680, in which the validity of Sunday laws was the subject of judicial consideration. In the first case the court held that such laws were unconstitutional and void, as attempting to interfere with matters of religious belief. Judge Field wrote a dissenting opinion, in the course of which he said:—

"Upon no subject is there such a concurrence of opinion among philosophers, moralists, and statesmen of all nations, as on the necessity of periodical cessations from labor. One day in seven is the rule, founded on experience and sustained by science. There is no nation, possessing any degree of civilization, where the rule is not observed, either from the sanctions of law or the sanctions of religion. This fact has not escaped the observation of men of science, and distinguished philosophers have not hesitated to pronounce the rule founded upon a law of our race.

"The legislature possesses the undoubted right to

pass laws for the preservation of health and the promotion of good morals, and if it is of the opinion that periodical cessation from labor will tend to both, and thinks proper to carry its opinion into a statutory enactment on the subject, there is no power, outside of its constitution, which can sit in judgment upon its action. It is not for the judiciary to assume a wisdom which it denies to the legislature, and exercise a supervision over the discretion of the latter. It is not the province of the judiciary to pass upon the wisdom and policy of legislation; and when it does so it usurps a power never conferred by the constitution."

In the case of ex parte Andrews, the doctrines of his dissenting opinions, just quoted, were adopted and promulgated as the opinions of the supreme court, and have been followed ever since, despite the changing personnel and diverse political opinions of that tribunal. The Sunday law, which was nullified by the decision in the Neuman case, was passed in April 1858; the second, which was upheld, was passed in May 1861, and remained in force until repealed by the act of February 8, 1883, at the beginning of the administration of Governor Stoneman.

As in the case of Neuman, Judge Field deprecated any attempt on the part of the courts to interfere in any way with the exercise of powers belonging to the legislature, so in that of Houston *vs.* Williams, 13 Cal. 24, he vigorously repelled what he considered an encroachment by the legislature upon the rights of the judiciary. The arguments which he put forward in support of his views have never been answered, for they are in fact unanswerable.

Perhaps apart from establishing rules for the settlement of disputed land titles, of rights to mining claims, and of the powers of municipal corporations, his influence was most potent in the interpretation of the system of pleading and practice, which as we have seen he introduced as legislator. Especially in

the case of Green *vs* Palmer, 15 Cal., judicial sanction was given to the seminal principles of the reformed and rational system of pleading, and that case has ever since remained one of the prominent guide-posts in this branch of the science of law.

When a tenth United States judicial district was created, and an additional justice of the supreme court of the United States was to be appointed, the entire Pacific coast delegation, democrats and republicans alike, urged President Lincoln to appoint Judge Field. He was immediately nominated by the president, and his nomination was unanimously confirmed by the senate. Though his commission was dated March 10, 1863, he declined to take his seat until some two months later, for many important cases were pending in California which he considered it his duty to decide. The oath of office was administered on the eighty-second anniversary of his father's birthday, who, in full possession of all his faculties, rejoiced in the advancement of his son.

Of the many tributes of respect paid to him by bar and bench on withdrawing from the highest judicial position in the gift of the state, one only, and that of the briefest, will suffice. Said Judge Baldwin, for several years his associate: "He has, more than any other man, given tone, consistency, and system to our judicature, and laid broad and deep the foundation of our civil and criminal law. The land titles of the state—the most important and permanent of the interests of a great commonwealth—have received from his hand their permanent protection, and this alone should entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the bar and the people."

Since Field has been on the bench of the supreme court of the United States, Taney, Chase, Waite, and Fuller have occupied the positions of chief justice, and among his associates were Wayne, Catron, Nelson, Grier, Clifford, Swayne, Miller, and Davis. It is pertinent to give only a passing notice to the long list of cases that have been decided since 1863 by that

august tribunal. Among those of immediate interest and of far-reaching consequence, growing out of the war between the north and south, may be mentioned the test oath cases, in one of which a Roman Catholic priest was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of $500, because he had taught the doctrines of his church without taking the test oath. In the other, A. H. Garland was prohibited from practising his profession as a lawyer, because of his participation in the rebellion. In both instances Justice Field delivered the opinion of the court, holding the legislation under which these penalties had been inflicted to be in violation of the constitution of the United States.

In the suits known as the slaughter-house cases, he dissented from the view of the majority, and in the course of his opinion made an unexpected application of the 14th amendment of the constitution of the United States. A monopoly had been granted to a corporation composed of seventeen persons, to exercise the exclusive privilege of slaughtering cattle for the city of New Orleans. The attempt was made to justify the act under the pretense that it was a sanitary measure, and a proper exercise of the police powers of the state. We quote the following from his opinion, as it is one of the best examples of the clear, concise style which characterizes all his decisions:

"It is contended in justification of the act in question that it was adopted in the interest of the city, to promote its cleanliness and protect its health, and was the legitimate exercise of what is termed the police power of the state. That power undoubtedly extends to all regulations affecting the health, good order, morals, peace, and safety of society, and is experienced on a great variety of subjects, and in almost numberless ways. All sorts of restrictions and burdens are imposed under it, and when these are not in conflict with any constitutional prohibitions, or fundamental principles, they cannot be safely

assailed in a judicial tribunal. With this power of the state and its legitimate exercise, I shall not differ from the majority of the court. But under the pretense of prescribing a police regulation, the state cannot be permitted to encroach upon any of the just rights of the citizen, which the constitution intended to secure against abridgment.

"If exclusive privileges of this character can be granted to a corporation of seventeen persons, they may in the discretion of the legislature be equally granted to a single individual. If they may be granted for twenty-five years, they may be equally granted for a century, and in perpetuity. If they may be granted for the landing and keeping of animals intended for sale or slaughter, they may be equally granted for the landing and storing of grain and other products of the earth, or for any article of commerce. If they may be granted for structures in which animal food is prepared for market, they may be equally granted for structures in which farinaceous or vegetable food is prepared. They may be granted for any of the pursuits of human industry, even in its most simple and common forms. Indeed, upon the theory on which the exclusive privileges granted by the act in question are sustained, there is no monopoly in the most odious form which may not be upheld.

"A prohibition to him to pursue certain callings open to others of the same age, condition, and sex, or to reside in places where others are permitted to live, would so far deprive him of the rights of a freeman, and would place him, as respects others, in a condition of servitude. . . . . The counsel of the plaintiffs in error therefore, contend that 'whenever a law of the state, or a law of the United States, makes a discrimination between classes of persons, which deprives the one class of their freedom on their property, or which makes a caste of them to subserve the power, pride, avarice, vanity, or vengeance of others,' their

involuntary servitude exists within the meaning of the 13th amendment."

The decision of the supreme court in respect to the privacy of mail matter, in which Field wrote the opinion, is of great interest to every citizen of the United States. Travellers who have had their private correspondence tampered with by foreign governments will particularly appreciate the force of his reasoning. After showing that congress has a right to prescribe what kind of matter may be transmitted by means of the public mails, he states the rights of the people to a safe and secret transportation of matter entrusted by them to the post office, in the following words:

"Letters and sealed packages of this kind in the mail are as fully guarded from examination, except as to their outward form and weight, as if they were retained by the parties forwarding them in their own domiciles. The constitutional guaranty of the right of the people to be secure in their papers against unreasonable searches and siezures extends to their papers, thus closed against inspection, whatever they may be. Whilst in the mail, they can only be opened and examined under like warrant, issued upon similar oath or affirmation, particularly describing the thing to be seized, as is required when papers are subjected to search in one's own household. No law of congress can place in the hands of officials connected with the postal service any authority to invade the secrecy of letters and such sealed packages in the mails; and all regulations adopted as to mail matter of this kind must be in subordination to the great principle embodied in the fourth amendment of the constitution."

Not infrequently it has been the fate of Judge Field to render decisions which at the time occasioned strong feelings of resentment, but which the sober second thought of the people fully approved. A case of this kind, which excited the most bitter hostility on the Pacific coast, was that rendered in what is popularly styled the queue case, How Ah How *vs.*

Matthew Nunan, sheriff. At that time the wave of popular feeling against the Chinese had reached its highest point, and many outrages were committed upon them during the agitation. How Ah How had been imprisoned for violating the cubic-air ordinance, and the sheriff, in obedience to an ordinance of the board of supervisors of the City of San Francisco, cut off his queue. This ordinance, which purported to be merely a sanitary regulation of the municipality, required that every person confined in the county jail should have his hair cut off within two inches of his head, and although general in its terms, was directed specially against the Chinese. Every one knows that the deprivation of his queue is one of the greatest calamities that can befall a Chinaman, since it is considered as not only disgracing him in this world, but as endangering his happiness in the next. Suit was brought by the Chinaman, against the sheriff, in the United States circuit court, to recover damages for the injury caused by the loss of his queue. The determination of the case involved the validity of the ordinance referred to, and in deciding the question Judge Field delivered an opinion in which he declared the ordinance to be special legislation, directed against the Chinese, by which they were denied the equal protection of the laws; that it was in violation of the fourteenth amendment of the constitution of the United States, and therefore void.

In the United States supreme court he has, for more than a quarter of a century, borne his share of its labors. His opinions, among other things, relate to test oaths, military commissions, confiscations, pardon and amnesty, legal tender notes, legislative power of the insurgent states during the civil war, protection of sealed matters in the mails from inspection by officials, power of the state to control compensation for use of private property, relation between general and state governments, powers and liabilities of corporations, interstate commerce, taxation, trust character

of directors of corporations, and the use of running waters on public lands.

Among the more important of these opinions the following may be mentioned: In the test oath cases, *Cummings* v. *Missouri*, 4 Wall. 277, and *Ex parte Garland*, 4 Wall. 333. In cases relating to interstate commerce, *Welton* v. *Missouri*, 91 U. S. 275; *County of Mobile* v. *Kimball*, 102 U. S. 691; *Gloucester Ferry Co.* v. *Pennsylvania*, 114 U. S. 196; *Sherlock* v. *Alling*, 93 U. S. 99; *Escanaba* v. *Chicago*, 107 U. S. 678; *Miller* v. *Mayor of New York*, 109 U. S. 385; *Cardwell* v. *American Bridge Co.*, 113 U. S. 205; and *Huse* v. *Glover*, 119 U. S. 543. In cases on questions growing out of the civil war, *Williams* v. *Bruffy*, 96 U. S. 176; *Coleman* v. *Tennessee*, 97 U. S. 509; *Pacific Railroads* v. *United States*, 120 U. S. 227; *Dow* v. *Johnson*, 100 U. S. 158; and the *Turble Case*, 13 Wall. 397. On constitutional questions particularly affected by the fourteenth amendment, *Barbier* v. *Connelly*, 113 U. S. 27; *Soon Hing* v. *Crowley*, 113 U. S. 703; *Missouri Pacific Railway Co.* v. *Humes*, 115 U. S. 512; *Hayes* v. *Missouri*, 120 U. S. 65. On state, city, and county bonded indebtedness, *Pillsbury* v. *Louisiana*, 105 U. S. 278; *Hartman* v. *Greenhow*, 102 U. S. 672; *United States* v. *New Orleans*, 98 U. S. 381; *Broughton* v. *Pensacola*, 93 U. S. 266. On patents of the United States for lands and mining claims, *Smelting Co.* v. *Kemp*, 104 U. S. 636; *Steel* v. *Smelting Co.*, 106 U. S. 447. On mining claims and water rights, *Jennison* v. *Kirk*, 98 U. S. 453; *Atchison* v. *Peterson*, 20 Wall. 507; *Dasey* v. *Gallagher*, 20 Wall. 670; on the power of a state to prescribe the conditions on which foreign corporations may do business within its limits, *Paul* v. *Virginia*, 8 Wall. 168; on proceedings in state courts against non-resident debtors, *Pennoyer* v. *Neff*, 95 U. S. 714; on the invalidity of contracts for the use of influence with public officials, *Oscanyan* v. *Arms Co.*, 103 U. S. 261; on federal jurisdiction over lands used for public purposes of the United

States government within the states, *Fort Leavenworth Co.* v. *Lowe*, 114 U. S. 525; on the protection of sealed matter in the mails, *Ex parte Jackson*, 96 U. S. 727; and many others of equal importance.

On the first day of January, 1873, the four codes of the state of California—political, civil, penal, and civil procedure—went into operation. Many defects soon became apparent, and the necessity for a revision by competent hands was imperative. In choosing a revisory commission, the difficulty confronting the governor was to find jurists qualified for the position, who would consent to serve. When it was learned that Judge Field would be one of those to undertake this important work, general satisfaction was felt by the profession and by the public. With him were associated Jackson Temple and John W. Dwinelle, who entered upon the performance of their duties with promptitude, and the beneficent results of their joint labors have been enjoyed by the people of this commonwealth to the present time. Defects were supplied, ambiguities removed, and important changes and additions recommended, most of which were adopted by the legislature.

Among those taking a prominent part in the settlement of the disputed presidential election of 1876, when the country seemed, for a time, to be on the verge of revolution, Judge Field holds an honorable place. It will be remembered that at that election Tilden had received a majority of about a quarter of a million of the people's votes, and if to these were added the electoral votes of either Louisiana, South Carolina, or Florida, in all of which states he had received considerable majorities, he would have had a majority in the electoral college. To avoid this result, the returning boards of those states proceeded to canvass the votes, and by rejecting the suffrages of entire communities, which had given large majorities for Tilden, the will of the people was set aside, and certificates of election given to the Hayes electors.

Other certificates were given by the proper officials to the Tilden electors. Votes were cast by both sets of electors and forwarded to Washington. The question soon arose as to which were to be counted, and who was to decide between the two. The senate being republican and the house of representatives democratic, the difference in opinion upon these questions were irreconcilable. Hot-headed partisans on either side were urging extreme measures, and bloody conflicts seemed imminent.

As a means of peacefully and lawfully determining the matter, an electoral commission was created, to which was confided the exercise of all the powers of both senate and representatives. The commission was composed of five senators, five representatives, and five judges of the supreme court, among them being Justice Field, and to it was entrusted the right of determining which of the two candidates, Tilden or Hayes, was lawfully entitled to the electoral votes of the states mentioned, and also of the state of Oregon. Of the opinions delivered by the members of this commission, upon the questions considered by it, none were more learned in constitutional law, or more judicious in tone, than that of Judge Field, whose vote was cast with the minority.

And now comes an episode in the career of Judge Field, which, though reflecting the utmost credit on himself, I would, on account of its painful character, have fain expunged from the story of his life. In the celebrated case of Sharon *vs.* Sharon, the plaintiff, Sarah Althea Hill, claiming to be defendant's wife, and suing for a divorce, with a division of the community property, a decision in her favor was reversed in the supreme court, and the case was afterward dismissed by Judge McShafter, in the superior court. Meanwhile, another suit was instituted, in which William Sharon, a well-known capitalist and ex-congressman, asked for a decree declaring the mar-

riage contract, produced at the former trial a forgery, and enjoining Miss Hill from asserting any claims thereunder. After a full hearing and consideration of the case, David S. Terry acting as counsel for the defendant, judgment was given for the plaintiff.

But before this decision was rendered Mr Sharon died, after conveying the bulk of his property to trustees, and appointing his son, Frederick W. Sharon, executor for the remainder of his estate. A few months later Miss Hill was married to Mr Terry, and not only refused to surrender the marriage contract for cancellation, as ordered by the circuit court, but continued to assert her claim under it as before. Thereupon the executor and the trustees of the estate of Sharon filed bills of revivor in the circuit court, whereby they sought to revive the suit in their names, that the decree already rendered them might be employed for the protection of the estate of which they were custodians. Resistance was made to these proceedings by Terry and his wife, who attempted to assail the validity of the decree, on the ground that the circuit court had no jurisdiction to hear and determine the original suit. Upon hearing of the bills of revivor Judge Field presided in the circuit court, though he had nothing to do with any of the previous suits or proceedings between the parties. With him sat judges Sawyer and Sabin. After a patient hearing of the case, Mr Field prepared an exhaustive opinion, which, on the 3d of September, 1888, he delivered in the United States circuit court, in San Francisco.

The courtroom was crowded, and besides members of the bench and bar were many prominent citizens who had come to hear Judge Field's opinion on a subject which had been so long before the community. Among the assemblage was the defendant and her husband, who seated themselves near the judges, at a table on which the former placed the satchel she usually carried. Judge Field began reading the

opinion of the court, and no sooner did Mrs Terry catch the tenor of the decision than she started to her feet, her eyes flashing with indignation.

"Be seated, madam," said the judge. "This court has been bought by Newlands," cried the woman—Newlands being Sharon's son-in-law. "Judge Field, how much did you get?" Marshal Franks was thereupon directed to remove her from the courtroom, but as he stepped forward to execute his orders she sprang at him, striking him in the face with both hands and using insulting language. At this juncture Terry interposed, and placing himself in front of the marshal, exclaimed, "No man shall touch my wife; get a written order." When Franks attempted to take her by the arm, Terry struck him a violent blow in the mouth, which broke one of his teeth. The latter then thrust his hand into his bosom for the purpose of drawing a bowie-knife which he carried on his person, but was seized by several officers and forced into a chair. With the assistance of one of his deputies, the marshal succeeded in removing Mrs Terry from the room, she mean while resisting, scratching, and striking him, using violent language, denouncing the judges, threatening Franks, and charging him with having stolen the diamonds and bracelets from her wrists. She called also for her satchel, which had, in the mean time, been taken possession of by one of her friends. This the marshal secured, after placing the woman in his office, and on being opened it was found to contain a self-acting Colt's revolver, with five chambers loaded, the sixth being empty.

After Mrs Terry had been removed her husband arose to follow her, and as he emerged from the courtroom again drew his bowie-knife, and brandishing it above his head, threatened to kill any one who should prevent him from rejoining his wife. He was promptly disarmed, and both were detained in custody in the marshal's office. As stated in the affidavit of one of the officers who had wit-

nessed the transaction: "Terry's conduct throughout this affair was most violent. He acted like a demon; and all the time while in the corridor, and before the counter in the marshal's office, he used loud and violent language, which could be plainly heard in the courtroom, and in fact throughout the building. Mrs Terry resisted with all her power the efforts of the marshal in taking her from the courtroom, and he was compelled to remove her forcibly. While being removed, she screamed and shouted her abuse of the judges, saying they had been bought, and so forth, and also abused Marshal Franks, calling him 'a hireling, paid to do his dirty work.'"

The scene over, Judge Field proceeded calmly to finish reading his opinion. Orders were then made adjudging Terry and his wife guilty of contempt of court, and directing the former to be imprisoned for six months and the latter for thirty days in the Alameda county jail. A few days afterward Terry filed a petition, asking for the revocation of the order committing him to prison, in which he stated that he had done nothing to encourage his wife in what he termed "her acts of indiscretion," and that he did not intend to do or say anything disrespectful to the court. On the contrary, he claimed that he had not drawn his knife for the purpose of attacking any one; that he had merely attempted to defend himself and wife from unlawful assault, and that the marshal had interfered with him while he "was making an honest effort to peaceably and quietly enforce the order of the court, so as to avoid a scandalous scene."

In disposing of this petition, the court, speaking through Judge Field, remarked: "The misbehavior of the defendant, David S. Terry, in the presence of the court, in the courtroom, and in the corridor which was near thereto, and in one of which (and it matters not which) he drew his bowie-knife and brandished it with threats against the deputy of the

marshal and others aiding him, is sufficient of itself to justify the punishment imposed. But great as the offense was, the forcible resistance offered to the marshal in his attempt to execute the order of the court, and beating him, was a far greater and more serious affair. This resistance and beating of its officer was the highest possible indignity to the government. When the flag of a country is fired upon and insulted, it is not the injury to the bunting, the linen, or silk on which the stars and stripes are stamped, which startles and arouses the country; it is the indignity and insult to the emblem of the nation's majesty, which stirs every heart and makes every patriot eager to resent them. So the forcible resistance to an officer of the United States in the execution of the process, orders, and judgments of their courts, is in like manner an indignity and insult to the power and authority of the government, which can neither be overlooked or extenuated. There is nothing in his petition which would justify any remission of the imprisonment. The law imputes an intent to accomplish the natural result of one's acts, and when those acts are of a criminal nature it will not accept, against such implication, the denial of the transgressor. No one would be safe if a denial of a wrongful or criminal intent would suffice to release the violator of law from the punishment due to his offenses.

"Why did the petitioner come into court with a deadly weapon concealed on his person? He knew that, as a citizen, he was violating the law, which forbids the carrying of concealed weapons, and as an officer of the court—and all attorneys are such officers—was committing an outrage upon professional propriety, and rendering himself liable to be disbarred.

"Therefore, considering the enormity of the offenses committed, and the position the petitioner once held in the state, which aggravates them to a degree not imputable to the generality of offenders,

the court, with a proper regard to its own dignity, the majesty of the law, and the necessity of impressing upon all men that forcible resistance to the lawful orders of the courts of the United States will not go unpunished, however high the offending parties, cannot grant the prayer of the petitioner; and it is accordingly denied."

Application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made by Terry to the supreme court of the United States; but this was also denied, upon the facts stated in the petition. An appeal to the same court from the decision in Sharon *vs.* Terry—which was the occasion of the proceedings herein described—was also taken by the defendants, and the judgment affirmed, the court holding that the appeal was "frivolous and unwarranted by the facts of the case."

After the order was made committing him for contempt, Terry said to Marshal Franks, or in his hearing: "Field thinks that when I get out he will be away; but I will meet him when he comes back next year, and it will not be a pleasant meeting for him." Mrs Terry threatened several times that she would kill both Field and Sawyer. These facts were sworn to by Marshal Franks, upon the hearing of Terry's petition for a revocation of the order committing him to prison. Subsequent and similar threats were made by Mr and Mrs Terry against the judges, and the danger of a murderous attack being made upon Judge Field, on his return to California, was the subject of general public discussion. The violent temper and reckless defiance of the law shown by the whole life of Terry, and the character of his wife, were well known. In addition to this, Mrs Terry had assaulted Judge Sawyer some time after her release from imprisonment, while in a Los Angeles train, pulling his hair and swinging her parasol over his head. Her husband was in a seat near by facing the judge, witnessing the acts of his wife, and tacitly approving of them.

Taking all these facts into consideration, many of the friends of Judge Field were anxious that he should not return to California in 1889. But he was not to be deterred from the path of duty by threats of personal violence. When urged to arm himself, in order to guard against attack, he said: "I do not, and will not, carry arms, because when it is known that the judges of our courts are compelled to carry arms for defense against assault, in consequence of their judicial action, it will be time to dissolve the courts, consider government a failure, and let society lapse into barbarism."

Although the judge was thus resolved to confront the danger of which he had been apprised, and yet to adopt no special precautions to protect himself, measures were taken to maintain the law and prevent further attacks on the judiciary. The department of justice at Washington had been informed of the condition of affairs, and attorney-general Miller had instructed Marshal Franks to detail an officer for the special service of protecting Judge Field while in California. For the performance of this service the marshal appointed David Neagle. Mr Crowley, the chief of police in San Francisco, also detailed two officers to guard the judge from attack while holding court in that city.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, August 13, 1889, Judge Field boarded the Los Angeles train bound for San Francisco. At Fresno, an intermediate station, about three o'clock on the following morning, Terry and his wife boarded the same train, but occupied another car. Their presence was soon discovered by officer Neagle, then in attendance on Judge Field, whom he notified of the proximity of the Terrys.

Arriving at Lathrop the following morning, Field, with Neagle, stepped from the train to a restaurant adjoining the station and ordered breakfast. A few minutes later Terry and his wife entered, but the latter, catching sight of Judge Field, immediately

left the room, her husband taking his seat. Meanwhile, one of the proprietors, named Stackpole, had been watching events, and was evidently nervous at Mrs Terry's absence. Stepping to Terry's side he asked him whether he thought she would be so indiscreet as to do anything desperate. "Why?" responded Terry, "who is here?" "Judge Field," answered the proprietor. Terry looked intently at Judge Field for a moment, and then turning to Stackpole said, "Go and watch her! Go and watch her!" Terry then arose and passed through the room behind Judge Field, Stackpole supposing he had gone to join his wife. When he reached the back of Field's chair, he paused for an instant, and then, without the least notice, struck him on both sides of the face. Neagle sprang to his feet and ordered him to stop, but heedless of the command he placed his hand in his bosom, as if to draw his knife, whereupon Neagle shot him dead. Thus did the slayer of Broderick meet with the fate which he had himself intended for one whose only offense was that he discharged, without fear or favor, the sacred duties of his office.

When Mrs Terry saw her husband lying prostrate on the floor, she was seized with frenzy. Stopping but a moment to wail over the dead, she strode forth and passed up and down the platform, appealing to the crowd to avenge the death of Terry. In the midst of the confusion, Field and Neagle quietly returned to the train, and proceeded upon their journey. Neagle, however, was arrested before reaching San Francisco, charged with murder, and confined in the jail at Stockton. A day or two afterward, Judge Field was himself arrested upon the same charge, made by Mrs Terry before a Stockton justice, but was released by the United States circuit court upon *habeas corpus*, and the prosecution dismissed by the district attorney of San Joaquin county, under the direction of the attorney-general of the state. The governor had also addressed a letter to the latter

official, in which he urged him to save the state from the burning disgrace of a malicious prosecution of a United States supreme judge, upon the charges of such a woman.

A writ of *habeas corpus* was also sued out on behalf of Neagle, to whose release a strenuous resistance was made. Elaborate arguments were presented, and after a thorough investigation of the facts, and a full consideration of the case, Sawyer delivered an opinion concluding with an order for the discharge of Neagle. This decision caused considerable adverse comment on the part of a portion of the people and the press, who said that Neagle should have been tried and acquitted by a jury, as in ordinary cases of homicide occurring within the state. An appeal was therefore taken to the supreme court of the United States, where Sawyer's judgment was approved.

In the opinion of that tribunal, as rendered by Justice Miller, it was stated that the denunciations of Terry and his wife from the time of their imprisonment until the death of the former, "were open, frequent, and of the most vindictive and malevolent character." While being carried to the jail at Alameda, Mrs Terry threatened, a number of times that she would kill both Judge Field and Judge Sawyer. Her husband, who did nothing to restrain her, declared that the world was not wide enough to keep him from finding Judge Field and horsewhipping him, and that if he resented it he would kill him. In an interview with a newspaper editor, Terry had said that Justice Field had put a lie on record about him, and when he met him, if he did not take it back and apologize, he would slap his face. The impression made by the conversation was that he was seeking to force a quarrel upon him and thus bring on a fight.

In concluding, Judge Miller remarked; "The result at which we have arrived upon this examination is, that in the protection of the person and the life of Mr Justice Field, while in the discharge of his official

duties, Neagle was authorized to resist the attack of Terry upon him; that Neagle was correct in the belief that, without prompt action on his part, the assault of Terry upon the judge would have ended in the death of the latter; that such being his well-founded belief, he was justified in taking the life of Terry, as the only means of preventing the death of the man who was intended to be his victim; that in taking the life of Terry, under the circumstances, he was acting under the authority of the law of the United States, and was justified in so doing, and that he is not liable to answer in the courts of California an account of his part in that transaction."

In connection with the narrow escape of Judge Field may be mentioned a still narrower escape, which occurred more than a quarter of a century before.

In October, 1865, before leaving California to attend the approaching term of the supreme court, Mr Field was requested by the proprietor of the Rulofson gallery to sit for his photograph. He consented, and a large sized photograph was taken, which Rulofson desired to add to his collection of portraits of distinguished persons. The photographer then said that he would make some small copies of the picture, and send them to Judge Field at Washington. On the morning of the 13th of January following, Judge Delos Lake, of San Francisco, called on Mr Field in Washington, and asked if any letters had been received for him, as he had directed his mail to be sent to his care. As the messenger had not brought the mail, when Field left his apartments at the hotel he requested Lake to accompany him, remarking that they would probably find it. Accordingly, they proceeded to his rooms, and there found the California mail lying on a center-table.

Among the letters and papers he noticed a small package, addressed to Honorable Stephen J. Field,

Washington, D. C., and with the words "per steamer," on one side. The name had been cut from the *California Reports*, and the "Washington, D. C." from some newspaper, and the printed slips had been fastened on the package with mucilage, while on the back was a printed slip, "From George H. Johnson's pioneer gallery, 645 and 649 Clay street, San Francisco." Until he observed this slip Mr Field supposed that the package was from Rulofson. His next thought was that it might be a Christmas present for his wife; so he decided to open it, intending, if that were the case, to seal it up again and remail it to her at New York, where she was spending the holidays. He accordingly tore off the cover and began to raise the lid, but very cautiously. He was struck with the black appearance of the inside and called Lake's attention to it. Lake looked over his shoulder and quickly exclaimed, "Don't open it, it's a torpedo!"

The package was then taken to the capitol, and shown to one of the deputy clerks of the supreme court. They dipped the package in water, and left it to soak for some minutes; then taking it to a safe place, and shielding themselves behind one of the columns of the capitol, threw the package violently against the wall. The hinge of the lid was broken and the contents of the package exposed. It was truly an infernal machine, the product of a most diabolical ingenuity. It consisted of twelve cartridges, about an inch in length, imbedded in a paste covered with fulminating powder, and a connection with a bunch of friction matches and a slip of sandpaper was so arranged that in opening the box the matches would be ignited and the whole exploded There was a newspaper slip glued to the inside of the lid, containing the following words: "The City of San Francisco *vs.* United States. Judge Field yesterday delivered the following opinion in the above case." Then followed several lines of the opinion.

It was evident that it was the work of some one

whose interests had been affected by the decision. Every effort was made by the police of San Francisco to detect the criminal, but without avail. The mystery still remains unsolved. Judge Field could never understand why he opened the box with such deliberation, since an infernal machine was the very last thing that entered his thoughts. Certainly it was not through fear, for neither in the aspect nor character of the man is such weakness indicated.

The personal appearance of Judge Field is striking, commanding the attention of the casual passer-by, as well as of the thoughtful observer. With features such as the phrenologist loves to study, he combines the mien and bearing of the ideal magistrate. Off the bench, as well as on it, he is suave and urbane in manner. His gestures are graceful, and his voice lends additional charm to the matter of his discourse. It may readily be conceived, therefore, that with his store of knowledge, drawn from so varied an experience, coupled with considerable power of dramatic and humorous narrative, he is most charming in social intercourse, and that his hosts of friends are bound to him with more than bonds of steel.

In 1859 he was married, at San Francisco, to Miss Sue Swearingen, and though childless their wedded life has been of the happiest. Mrs Field has accompanied her husband upon his many journeys across the continent, to and from this great empire of the Pacific, which owes so much to his civic virtues and juristic wisdom. She has also accompanied him on his visits to the old world, where the name of Judge Field has long been associated with legal and scientific progress. It need hardly be said that their home is the abode of hospitality, culture, and refinement.

No better proof of his official eminence and private worth could be given, than that which was displayed at the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the

supreme court in February 1890. Respected most by those who know him best, he was chosen by his illustrious associates to speak for them on that occasion. That he had earned this high tribute to his character and ability, was demonstrated by the thoughtful and eloquent address delivered by him, to the delight of all. For twenty-eight years of the century that has passed, since the institution of that great tribunal, Judge Field has served his country as a justice of the supreme court of the United States. The law of the land, in recognition of the value of such services, authorizes him to cease from his labors, and to draw the full salary to which he is now entitled, so long as he may live. But he has declined to avail himself of this right, and still, with eye undimmed and natural force unabated, performs his arduous duties; and it is said by the profession that one of the ablest opinions ever rendered by him was delivered in 1891, in Ross *v.* McIntyre, respecting the jurisdiction of consular tribunals.

In looking back upon the judicial work of Judge Field, it will be found that one of his strongest characteristics has been the fearlessness with which he has asserted what he believed to be the law, no matter how violent the opposition he encountered, extending as this sometimes did to harsh personal attacks. For this courage, both physical and moral, was demanded. The former is not uncommon; the latter is the greater and rarer virtue. That Judge Field possesses his full share of physical courage has been demonstrated by the incidents of his early career in California as already related, and by many others that might be related. Like a certain English judge, if he had desired popularity, it has been that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. His own self-respect has always been dearer to him than popular favor gained by unworthy device, or cowardly subservience to local passion and sectional prejudice.

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CHAPTER VII.

AGENCY OF INDUSTRY.

LIFE OF IRVING MURRAY SCOTT—HIS APPEARANCE IN SAN FRANCISCO IN 1860—ANCESTRY AND EDUCATION—AT THE DONAHUE FOUNDRY—INVENTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS—THE COMSTOCK LODE—THE UNION IRON-WORKS—SHIP-BUILDING—IMMIGRATION—THE MOULDERS' UNION—OPINIONS AND TASTES—WIFE AND FAMILY—SUMMARY OF CAREER.

TOWARD the close of the year 1860, at almost any hour during the day, there might be seen at the Union Iron-works, on First and Mission streets, in the city of San Francisco, a young man bending over a draughtsman's table in the office, or with rapid stride passing hither and thither about the yards, the body inclining forward and the eye fixed on the object sought, as if time and purpose were both of some consideration. Though neither of commanding stature nor of imposing frame, his twenty-third birthday being yet before him, there is something striking about the figure, which holds the interest of the observer on nearer inspection. Not so much grace as strength, we should say, though the youth is comely and well proportioned; but if indications fail not, there is material here for something more than the ordinary man.

A large and well-shaped head, with arched and expansive brow, set on broad shoulders; features pleasing, animated, earnest, and lighted with intelligence and good-will—not yet overspread with the burden of care which comes later in life; forehead

Irving M. Scott

massive and well developed, projecting over the clearest of blue-gray eyes; brown hair, which time will presently thin in front; face clean-shaven, but presently to be adorned with a luxurious growth upon the upper lip; chin massive; complexion ruddy, but fair; temperament nervous-sanguine—the *tout ensemble* denoting, in a word, physical activity, with culture, refinement, and intellectual power. It is not a face which as yet bears evidence of many troubles, or even of much hard labor, nor one which seems to anticipate the coming of sorrows, or when they come to permit a too deep ploughing of furrows; there is a quiet stoicism, great unconscious and some conscious pride, as Carlyle says of Frederick the Great; and a voice clear and melodious, which one hearing for the first time does not readily forget. I might speak of dress, and possibly gain some further insight into his idiosyncrasies; but clothes did not make the man at this time in California.

In upon this point of time and place chanced the young man, and if with him there had been fifty others like him, the history of this western coast would read somewhat differently to-day, as I will presently explain. It was a pivotal year, this of 1860, many destinies turning upon it. Lincoln was elected, and the train laid to set the land ablaze, the structures to be reared upon the ashes nevermore to be the same. A railway must be laid across the continent, and a mountain of silver brought from Nevada. Never had there been a time in this country when metals and mechanisms were destined to play so important a part in the annals of mankind.

In the days of Charles V. men sought after the magnificent, and so far as pomp and outward show were concerned, they accomplished much, even to the encompassing of the earth with their vanities and superficial rule. Those who now lead the way in whatsoever makes life noble, labor with other purpose, letting their works speak for them. The cardinal

virtues of to-day are not cloistered in creeds, but appear in practical uses. Good performance is better than a promised kingdom of heaven. The divinity which shapes our ends disdains not to handle the hammer and the saw.

To the man who discovered the process of making bricks or of smelting iron the world is more indebted than to the greatest of philosophers; for with bricks and iron we can build houses, railroads, ships; but philosophy will not bridge an ocean, or span a continent, or even keep out the cold. And so it is with other branches of manufacture which add to the comfort and well-being of mankind. Manufactures, it has been well remarked, are the very backbone of a nation, and without them, at least in modern times, no nation ever became really great. And as with nations, so with cities and communities. Though as yet almost in their infancy, it is largely due to her manufactures, employing directly many thousands of workmen, and indirectly many additional thousands, that California owes her present position among the sisterhood of states, that her metropolis ranks already among the great centres of wealth and population; for in San Francisco is concentrated almost as large a proportion of the manufactures as of the commerce of the Pacific coast. Of the golden state it has been more than once predicted, and that by some of the foremost of political economists, that her manufacturing interests will eventually exceed both mining and agriculture in value of production. Although to many the fulfilment of this prophecy may appear somewhat remote, nevertheless, with our special facilities and abundance of raw material, an increase of population, with cheaper labor and capital, alone are wanted to bring it to pass.

First among the manufactures of San Francisco, or among the first, was that of iron, and first among iron foundries was that of the brothers Donahue, now known as the Union Iron-works, so named

after those at Paterson, New Jersey, where Peter Donahue, the founder of the enterprise, learned his trade as machinist. The history of the now world-famous Union Iron-works is related elsewhere. Suffice it here to say, that the establishment which produced in the *Charleston* and *San Francisco* two of the finest and most powerful cruisers in the American navy, that is now building the coast-defence vessel *Monterey*, the swift cruiser No. 6, and a line-of-battle ship—the *Oregon*—of 10,500 tons displacement, of the highest type, of a pattern ever before attempted, and with the most powerful armament ever placed on a man-of-war, was originally contained in a tent, which at the close of 1849 did duty for blacksmith and machine shop on Montgomery street. Thence, in the spring of 1850, the Donahue brothers, Peter and James, removed to the site where now stands the Union foundry block, on Mission, First, and Fremont streets, in what was then known as Happy valley. The smoke-stack of a dismantled steamer served them for furnace, and for blasting purposes a pair of old-fashioned blacksmith bellows. With these rude appliances were manufactured two pillow-blocks for the shaft of the ocean propeller *McKim*, each of them weighing 200 pounds, and the cost one dollar a pound. Even at that rate there was but a slender margin of profit; for they were the first castings made on the Pacific coast, and at a time when labor and material commanded fabulous prices.

But soon material became cheap and plentiful enough, for after the conflagrations which laid waste the business portion of the metropolis, old iron could be had for the asking, or at most for $20 a ton. This the Donahues moulded into forms which brought them from $200 to $400 a ton, and then they began to make money. Presently their roofless wooden structure gave place to a more pretentious building. To other branches of their business they added the repairing of engines, the construction of quartz-mills, of min-

ing machinery and mining pumps, and the erection of gas-works. Here we have the inception of the iron industries of the Pacific coast, which in 1860 included in San Francisco alone fourteen foundries and machine-shops, with manufactures valued at $1,200,000, increasing within the next decade to about $5,000,000, in 1870 to at least $15,000,000, in 1880 to $20,000,000, and in 1890 to $25,000,000.

It was in 1860, as we have seen, that the youth of whom I have spoken arrived in San Francisco, and how much of this development in our iron industries is due to his agency, to his ability and application, and to the lessons which he has never been slow to gather from experience, the sequel will presently explain. But before proceeding further, let us first hear the story of his nativity, his boyhood, and his earlier career.

On the father's side, the ancestors of Irving Murray Scott—for such was his name—belonged to the society of friends, and on the mother's were methodists, all of them men and women noted for their industry and frugality, their physical and intellectual powers, and their moral worth. Among their gifts was the gift of longevity, Thomas Scott, the grandfather of Irving, surviving the fourscore years which the psalmist allots as the span of human life. He was a man of strong and decided character; and in a large section of his native state of Maryland, lying north of Hebron mills, in Baltimore county, was the legal adviser and monitor of the entire community, settling their differences by arbitration, and when the occasion required it, consulting some trusted practitioner, usually one Samuel Target by name. But whatever his decision, the parties at issue were always satisfied, no matter how rancorous their disputes. Among his other branches of business was the purchase of cattle from his neighbors, which he disposed of in Baltimore, a few leagues distant from his home. To the Hebron mills also the farmers

brought their grain for sale, passing by other mills that were nearer to them; for at the former they were sure of a fair equivalent, and that in good gold coin.

Irving's father, the reverend John Scott, was a minister according to the forms of the quaker church, preaching the gospel as interpreted in the teachings of George Fox, one of the greatest of its apostles, and for that purpose travelling extensively over the United States and Canada. He was a man of medium stature and compact and sturdy frame, one ready of resource, cheerful, hopeful, and always with a kindly and encouraging word for his neighbors, especially when overtaken with adversity; one who, however dark the prospect, could point to some ray of light, some means of escape from the difficulty. In the all-seeing and all-embracing care of a heavenly father he had an abiding faith, the simple, unquestioning faith of a child, and yet with a force of conviction that throughout the long years of a noble and beneficent career remained unshaken as the eternal hills.

While a minister by profession, he did not depend on that profession for a livelihood. He was the owner of a goodly farm, and of the Hebron mills, adding to his other occupations the management of a carding factory in connection with the mills, until the former was carried away by one of the freshets which sweep at times through the peaceful vales of Maryland. Though in all that state there was no more sincere and earnest Christian, there was nothing about him of the gloom and melancholy which some mistake for a special token of grace. Often might he be seen joining in the pastimes of his children, romping with them, and even going down "on all fours" with them; but once they were told "that is enough," then in an instant their gambols ceased, not out of fear, but from love, because it was their father's wish. Every need and desire of those children was either anticipated or discussed; was granted if possible and reasonable, if otherwise, was gently but firmly denied. Length of

days, among other blessings, was added to the lot of this well-beloved pastor, father, citizen, and friend, and on the 9th of June, 1887, after surviving the eighty-ninth anniversary of his birth, his remains were laid at rest.

The mother of Irving M. Scott was Elizabeth, daughter of George Littig, collector of customs at Baltimore during the Adams administration. She was a woman of most estimable character, and with a deep religious element in her nature, of the methodist persuasion, but in thorough sympathy with her husband's labors, and for well-nigh three score of years taking on herself a full share of his burdens. If she was ambitious, it was with a worthy ambition, a pride that was limited to the affairs of her household, to see that her table was of the best, her food the best cooked, her children the best attired, her flower-beds of tulips, dahlias, and chrysanthemums in the trimmest order, and her carriage the neatest and best equipped in all the country round. In her pantry would be found the choicest of meats, the freshest of butter and eggs, and the largest and best assortment of preserves, the fruits that made the last being exchanged among the neighbors, so that in every well-ordered household would be found some of every description. Among all the matrons of Maryland there were none more widely respected, none more deeply regretted, when, some two years before her husband's decease, she passed away, at the age of four-score and five.

Of the eleven children born of this union, six have survived, one of the daughters, now Mrs Edwin Scott, and two of the sons, George L. and Harrison, all of them residents of Maryland, and Mrs Mary Francis Orrick, Irving M., and Henry T. Scott, whose home is in California.

At the Hebron mills was the birthplace of Irving, and the date, Christmas day of 1837. His boyhood was passed on the farm; and with such a home

and such environment it could not fail to be a happy one. Indeed, in the fame and fortune which he has since acquired, as one of the foremost of modern engineers, have brought not with them the deep content that marked his childhood's days. One thing only troubled him, and that was a somewhat weakly constitution, caused in part by an attack of scarlet fever in malignant form, which brought on a partial deafness that has never since been overcome. He was also subject to occasional fainting-spells, and the tracheal affection then known as the hives, or as it is now termed, the croup. Especially was he liable to these ailments during the summer heat, and at times they were accompanied with fever, causing his head to swell and his eyes to close, though without any dangerous symptoms. Among the stories told of his childhood, it is said that he once declared to his father, "the sun or himself must seek the shade." Thus at this season of year he could not endure continuous out-door work, nor was it expected of him. His favorite occupation, or rather his favorite pastime, was tending the cattle and sheep, protecting their young, and studying their habits, feeding them, and looking to the condition of their stalls, with matters pertaining to cleanliness, drainage, and ventilation. Among all the adjacent farms there were none where the stock was better cared for, or where the loss in lambing-time was smaller in proportion. With Irving it was a constant study how to produce the best results, how to make improvements that should outdo his neighbors; and with this view, as he says, he made himself acquainted with the history and pedigree of every animal on the place.

The trade of a miller he also studied, and in this he became so proficient that he was often left in charge of the mills, for the miller himself, one Nicholas Merryman by name, or "Old Nick," as he was more familiarly termed, could not produce better flour, or corn, or oaten meal. From that foreman, somewhat

of a genius in his way, he gained his first practical knowledge of mechanics, learned how to make cogs and spokes and felloes, and to fit them to wheels, how to make bolsters for wagons, how to turn wood, and in a word, to do any description of work that required mechanical skill and the handling of tools. Posts and rails he could also fashion, and as a gardener his services were in request. He could plant, prune, and graft fruit trees, could plant and prepare the ground for vegetables; he knew how to make cider, how to smoke bacon, how to kill and dress a steer, a sheep, or a hog. Indeed, it would be difficult to mention anything connected with the operations of a farm with which he was not acquainted.

Irving received his education first at the public schools of Baltimore county, and afterward at the Milton academy, of which Emerson Lamb was principal, and where, after a three years' course, he graduated. At both he was known as an apt and diligent pupil; but it was rather through his ability than through any special application that he was always found near the head of his class, for his tasks were easily mastered, and problems over which his fellow-students would pore for hours he solved almost by intuition. Except for what his teacher was pleased to term stubbornness, but what was really the strength of purpose which marks all leaders of men, he was never corrected, or if so, it was at the hands of some schoolmate much older and stronger than himself. He was a hot-tempered youth; was always ready to fight on the smallest provocation, and if at times he was worsted, before his school days were ended he could at least divide the honors with any to whom he threw down the gauntlet. If it lay within his power, he would never allow any one to outstrip him, whether it was in running, jumping, lifting, climbing, or spelling, but least of all in fighting. His play hours were passed in gathering information, for the most part in the fields and woods, though from boyhood he was a

constant reader. He loved to study the growth of plants and the places where they grew, the places where birds and squirrels nested, the water-ways, the hills and rocks, with their formations and all their peculiarities. He knew the haunts and habits, the feeding-times and feeding-places of fish, and would always bring home a larger basket than any other lad in the neighborhood. While by no means averse to society, he could live without it, and preferred to all other the company of men, never making a boyish friendship, or indeed the friendship of a girl, though for the latter defect he afterward made amends.

While yet a student at the academy, his father offered him his choice of a profession, promising to furnish the necessary means. At first he inclined to a medical career; but his final decision was to become a machinist, and with that view his course of study was altered, Latin and Greek giving place to a course of higher mathematics, with history, geography, and subjects of a practical nature. When seventeen years of age he entered the Baltimore factory of Obed Hussey, by whom was invented the first successful reaping-machine, and here he soon became an expert in all the branches of wood and iron work that pertained to the establishment. Then, through the recommendation of his employer, he received an appointment in the iron-works of Murray & Hazlehurst, on Federal hill, in the same city. After becoming a proficient draughtsman, he was promoted from the machinery department and placed in charge of the construction of stationary and fire engines, whereby a wider field was opened for the exercise of his mechanical ingenuity, and one which he did not fail to improve.

It was a wholesome discipline that the young man experienced in these early days, now having passed his twentieth year and thrown entirely on his own resources. Reared under the most favorable conditions, with the best of parents and teachers, among one of the most thrifty and industrious, the most up-

right and God-fearing of all the simple farming communities of Maryland, it would be strange indeed if he did not profit by such example. But greater than all this discipline, than all this example, was the discipline which he gave to himself. Seven o'clock each morning found him at work, and at work he remained until six at night, walking to and from his home and the shop, the latter in a distant suburb of the city. In the winter months, three evenings each week were passed at the Mechanics' institute, in learning the art of mechanical drawing. A fourth was devoted to the study of German, and a fifth to popular lectures, at which were heard some of the foremost men of the day, such men as Thomas Starr King, as Doctors Bellows and Bethune, as Mortimer Thompson, and E. H. Reece. Saturday night was spent in writing up such information as he had gathered during the week, presently to be used in a debating society whose meetings were held in the basement of a church. His sabbath evenings were invariably passed at the home of his uncle, whose kindly attention and excellent advice had, as he admits, a decided influence on his future life. Here also he had access to a well-selected library, the value of which he thoroughly appreciated. Rarely would he afford himself the time or money to attend a place of amusement, and then only to hear one of Shakespere's plays, for which to this day he has never lost his taste, seldom missing a good Shakesperian actor, or a lecturer who has anything to say that is worth the hearing.

For some two years Mr Scott remained at the works of Murray & Hazlehurst, until in 1859, through the failure of the firm, its effects were disposed of at sheriff's sale. Among those present at that sale was Peter Donahue, who purchased a steam fire-engine, designed in part by Irving, and built under his superintendence. Being asked what use he intended to make of it, Mr Donahue replied that he would ship it to California, and in response to a further inquiry

from the young machinist whether he had any one to take charge of it, asked him what he could do. For answer he was referred to one of his former employers, who stated that whatever Mr Scott professed or promised to do, that he would surely accomplish. Thereupon he was at once engaged as a draughtsman for the Union Iron-works in San Francisco, and on the return of Mr Donahue from a European trip, followed him to California, meanwhile taking charge of his business in New York city.

Thus it was that, toward the close of 1860, we find Mr Scott en route for our Pacific coast metropolis, by way of the Isthmus, whence he took passage on the *Golden Age*, commanded by Commodore Watkins. There was nothing remarkable about his voyage, except that he was remarkably sea-sick, suffering from this distressing malady from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate, and as a consequence, with weight reduced to something less than ninety pounds. His first impressions of the city were to him a novel and by no means pleasing experience. Gambling was openly practised, such gambling as he had never witnessed, and in more orderly communities was forbidden by law. Everything was rough and rude, with little of system and less of restraint. At night men gathered in drug-stores, in hotels and saloons, for they had nowhere else to go, and there is nothing that the average San Franciscan dislikes so much as the solitude of his chamber and the company of a book. In all the city, with its thousands of stores and offices and lodging-houses, there was not probably a score of homes, and those to be found only in what was then the fashionable quarter, on Folsom, Harrison, and adjacent streets. In all the city there was not a man with whom Irving M. Scott was acquainted, not a door-bell that he could ring, not a house where he could call, save that of Peter Donahue.

"You are a punctual man," was Mr Donahue's greeting, when Irving made his appearance on the

very day of his landing. The former had already engaged for him an apartment in what then ranked as a first-class house, on the corner of First and Mission streets, one that has long since given place to a structure of brick in the midst of our city front planing-mills. Here he at once made a monthly contract for his board and room, and the following day found him at his task at the foundry. Little did he then imagine that he was soon to be placed in sole charge of those works, and to develop them into the largest and most successful manufactory of the kind on the Pacific coast.

Before proceeding further, it may here be mentioned that, like other new-comers, Mr Scott was under the impression that the gold-mines were in the neighborhood of the city, that it was only necessary to walk out to them, to pick up such gold as he required, and return, a rich man, to the home of his boyhood. For this purpose he had brought with him a pair of alligator-leather boots with rubber soles, as a protection against cold and wet; but of his impression, as also of his boots, I need not say that he was soon relieved. His first actual visit to the mines was at Summerville, where he learned the methods of exploration, and of extracting and hoisting the coal, thus preparing the way for such improvements in mining machinery as gave to the Union Iron-works a more than national repute.

During his first year at the foundry Mr Scott accumulated $400, and that from a salary which, though twice as much as he had before received, was by no no means a liberal compensation. To the amount of that salary he seldom gave a thought; only it seemed to him unfair that he should have no more than half the wages paid to less skilful mechanics. How little the matter of compensation troubled him appears from the fact that he refused the offer of an increase at the end of six months' service. "Well," said Mr Donahue, "you are the first man I ever saw that

would not have his wages raised." To this his employé replied that he had made a contract for one year and would carry it out. If the contract was to be altered at that moment Mr Donahue could make his own terms, but at the end of the year he would require whatever he might be worth. The twelvemonth expired, he commanded thrice his former salary, and then he began to save money rapidly, living plainly but substantially, and avoiding all needless expenses. His leisure time was passed in studying the geography of the city and the state, in studying their requirements, and especially in considering what improvements could be made in the methods and processes of the iron-works. Of all the faculties with which Mr Scott is gifted, perhaps the strongest is the faculty of observation, one that if it does not of itself constitute genius is to its possessor of far more value than genius.

At this time most of the responsible positions at the foundry were filled by relatives of Peter Donahue, many of them without any special aptitude, unless it might be the aptitude for drawing their salaries. There were neither rules nor discipline, and the men did very much as they pleased, chatting and smoking in working hours, and whenever they felt disposed, which was not seldom, adjourning for bibulous refreshments. Matters were at their worst in the winter of 1861, when Mr Donahue passed much of his time in Sacramento, procuring from the legislature the first franchise granted to a metropolitan street-car company. Meanwhile his foreman had resigned, leaving no one at the head of affairs. At this juncture, with a view to protect his employer's interests, Mr Scott took charge of the establishment, and with such excellent results that on the return of the proprietor he was appointed superintendent, with authority to make and enforce such regulations as seemed to him best. First of all, he closed up all the openings, with one exception, and at the single gateway

left open placed a watchman, with orders to forbid all egress. He then informed the men that in working hours they would not be allowed to smoke or drink or converse; that the tools must be kept clean, and the shops in good order. At first these measures were strongly opposed, and for a time a strike was threatened; but with the support of Mr Donahue, who was gratified with the new order of things, the superintendent carried the day. The same discipline has been maintained at the Union Iron-works to the present time, and is not least among the factors that have made them famous; for thus despatch and promptitude and exactness are secured, together with the very best quality of work, and its delivery at the time agreed upon.

It was as a draughtsman, as I have said, that Mr Scott was first employed, though presently his services were transferred to the workshops, of which he was gradually placed in control. It was now the time when the marvelous riches of the Comstock lode were attracting the attention of the world, and to explore its depths and extract its treasures the heaviest and most improved machinery was in urgent demand. In this direction, as Mr Scott foresaw, would be the immediate future of our iron industries; nor was his judgment at fault, for in many of the intervening years the amount paid out for this class of work alone has risen far into the millions. With a view to learn this branch of the business, not at that time included in the Donahue establishment, he accepted a position in the Miners' foundry, then at the head of all others in San Francisco in the construction of mining machinery. Here he was placed in charge of the draughtsman's department, was brought into contact with some of the leading miners and inventors of the day, and thus gained a perfect mastery of his craft, understanding thoroughly and completely all that was needed in the building of quartz-mills and quartz machinery.

In 1863 two-thirds the interest of Peter Donahue was purchased by H. J. Booth and C. S. Higgins, the firm being then known as Donahue, Booth, & Higgins, and two years later as H. J. Booth & company, the other members being George W. Prescott and Irving M. Scott, Donahue and Higgins having disposed of their interest. In 1875 still another change was made, and the associates adopted their present style of Prescott, Scott, & company, Henry T. Scott, the youngest brother of Irving, being admitted as a partner. One of the first steps taken by H. J. Booth & company was to offer to Mr Scott the appointment of general manager and superintendent, which position he has held continuously for more than a quarter of a century. How well he has fulfilled its duties may be judged from the fact that from a few score thousands the business of the firm has increased to several millions a year, and instead of 22 workmen, as when first he joined the Union foundry, there were, in the spring of 1891, some 1,400 on its pay-roll.

In 1860 the business of the Union Iron-works consisted mainly of repairs to steamers plying on harbor and river, with the making of gas-pipes, the building of gas-works, and such other branches as fell to their lot. As yet their reputation was but local, and the construction of mining machinery for which they afterward became world famous had not been even attempted.

It is somewhat remarkable that a country which has revolutionized mining methods, whose machinery and appliances in this direction have been adopted more or less widely in the mining districts of the world, should at first have been so backward in this respect. It was not until long after the gold discovery that the rocker and pan gave way to the sluice and hydraulic pipe, enabling one man to do the work of hundreds, and rendering easy of accomplishment enterprises which had before appeared impossible. It was not until several years later that quartz-mills

came into common use, and those of such patterns as have long since been discarded, even in Mexican mining camps. As late as 1851 gold-bearing rock was pounded in huge iron mortars, with pestles made fast to branches of trees, the rebound of which was almost sufficient to raise them. The pulverized matter was then treated with quicksilver, and even with these rude contrivances the miner averaged $10 a day. In the autumn of 1851 the first quartz-mill in California was erected in Yuba county, by a company owning a claim in Brown valley. It was a sorry affair, working by steam-power single stamps in each of several mortars. A year or two later others were added, which from various reasons resulted in failure; but in 1855 the work of building quartz-mills began in earnest. In 1857 there were about 150 in operation, built at a total expense of some $2,000,000; in 1890 there were at least 400, costing from $6,000 to $60,000. Said Horace Greeley, the man of intuitions, who in 1859 paid a flying visit to the Pacific coast: "The time has not yet come for profitable mining in quartz, and three out of four mines are failures." The average yield he placed at about $20 a ton, which would not repay the expenses of mining and milling. And yet from much poorer rock, when found in sufficient quantity, fair dividends have since been returned.

Even in 1860, when Mr Scott first set foot on these shores, mining machinery was constructed with slight regard to correct mechanical principles, and the lapse of twenty centuries had done little to improve the methods of reducing ores. Such mills as we had were built by ordinary millwrights, wheelwrights, and machinists, who brought to their task only the knowledge acquired in the usual branches of their trade. The cam used in lifting the stamp received it with a sharp concussion, due to the remoteness of the point of contact from the axis of revolution. For all descriptions of quartz crushing the same kind of mortar

was used, whether for gold crushing and amalgamating, for silver crushing without amalgamation, for dry crushing, or crushing cement and bowlders for the coarse gold which they contained. The stamp was shoeless, and retained its square wooden stem. The battery mortar had wooden sides and a cast-iron bottom, consisting of a simple die, or at best a shallow trough, causing inevitable waste through leakage of the quicksilver containing the precious metals.

All these defects and many others have since been remedied, largely through the mechanical ingenuity of Irving M. Scott. If an improvement was originated in the mind of another, he was the one who eradicated its defects, supplied its deficiencies, and thus modified, adapted it for practical application. The gib-tappet, for instance, had not at this time been brought into general use, on account of an imperfection in allowing the end of the gib to run through the tappet. This he remedied by shortening the gib, and causing the tappet to pass over each end, thus changing an impracticable device into one that has since been adopted throughout the mining world. So with the double-armed cam, with the hub on one of its sides; so with the direct acting hoisting-engine, the combination amalgamation-pan, the division of crushings into classes, and these again into subdivisions. In a word, the improvements in modern metallurgy, which have made the system here in vogue the standard of all other states and nations, were, in their essential features, perfected under his direction and management. Through his efforts the mechanics of that science have been evolved from the crude condition of pioneer days into the highest type that has yet been produced, and, as it would seem, almost into the highest of which they are capable. There is always the right man for the occasion, it is said, if only he can be found, and fortunate it is that when the enormous ore deposits of the Comstock were unearthed, we had on this coast an engineer of such caliber as

Irving M. Scott for beyond a doubt he was the man for the occasion.

The year 1863, when Mr Scott assumed the management of the Union Iron-works, was one long remembered in the earlier history of the Comstock. In that year the attention of the mining world was drawn to the rich yield of the Gould & Curry, producing in 1863 nearly 50,000 tons of ore, and about $4,000,000 in bullion. Other mines were also producing largely, the total dividends for the twelvemonth being little short of $2,000,000. Although the glories of the Gould & Curry have long since been eclipsed by larger and even richer bonanzas, at the time such results were considered phenomenal, and these were long regarded as the most brilliant days of the Comstock. Since that date there have been produced in a single year, and that from the single ore deposit of the California and Consolidated Virginia, 273,000 tons of ore, with an average yield of more than $110 a ton, a total of more than $30,000,000, and with dividends exceeding $21,500,000. Up to the close of 1890 the entire output of the great lode was at the lowest estimate 10,000,000,000 tons of metal-bearing rock, and its value $325,000,000. If to this be added the thousands of millions of tons of waste rock that have also been hoisted, the thousands of millions of tons of water, it will be seen that only the most powerful and massive machinery could make any impression on this Antæan task.

It is to Mr Scott a source of just and honorable pride, exceeded only by that which he felt in his career as a naval artificer, that almost from the day when he was placed in charge, the Union Iron-works have been the leading foundry for the planning and construction of mining and metallurgical machinery. Whether for the mining of ores, for hoisting them to the surface, for conveying them to the mills, for crushing and amalgamation, for separating the bullion, for melting it into bars, here have been sup-

plied, for these and other processes, the models, designs, and drawings which are to-day the standards of the world.

As early as 1866 Mr Scott was the principal authority on mechanics as applied to metallurgy. A circular prepared in that year under his own supervision was regarded even by his competitors as a valuable text-book, rather than an advertisement of the business of the firm, one so valuable indeed that it should not have been given to the public. But it has never been his practice to withhold from others the benefit of his improvements and inventions. Many of those inventions he has not even protected by patent, allowing his fellow-man to profit by them equally with himself.

Thus it will be seen that the firm of Booth & company had no reason to regret their choice in appointing Irving M. Scott to the most responsible position in their establishment. No sooner was he placed in charge of the mechanical department than a change like that of a new life was infused into all its branches. Such was the press of work that every machine was in operation day and night, and other machines were imported, more powerful than any before in use on the Pacific coast. Among them was a 15-ton steam-hammer, a plane that could handle a column 10 feet square and 25 feet in length, a lathe that could turn a balance-wheel 25 feet in diameter, and cranes of a lifting capacity of 30 tons. Nevertheless, so rapidly did orders accumulate that even with an enlargement of their premises and the closest economy of space, large quantities of castings had to be made elsewhere.

Even during the years when business was at its slackest, when the upper levels of the Comstock were almost exhausted, and the riches of the deeper levels had not as yet been disclosed, the Union Iron-works were never idle. Presently came the discovery of the Crown Point and Belcher bonanza, followed some

three years later by that of the Consolidated Virginia and California, with others either imaginary or yet to be revealed. In 1877–8 the volume of production at the Union works was at least one fourth of that of the entire Pacific coast, and more than one half of that of the Pacific coast metropolis. Of the $4,700,000 a year of San Francisco manufactures and her 1,200 foundry operatives, at least $2,000,000 with 400 workmen were accredited to the Union Iron-works. For these results the firm was largely indebted to Irving M. Scott, for of the two other members whom it included, Henry, his youngest brother, attended mainly to the financial department, for which he was eminently fitted, and it was not until 1875 that Mr Prescott took an active part in its affairs.

Of the so-called bonanza mines it was declared by one of the manipulators of their stock that they would continue to pay dividends long after their detractors were in the grave; but their dividends have long since come to an end, and there are many of their detractors who are not as yet in the grave. From an output of more $30,000,000 in the centennial year, their yield decreased to about $2,600,000 in 1880, and with this decrease, as no other Comstock mines were yielding largely, came a serious falling off in the demand for mining machinery, one that affected, more than all others, the Union Iron-works; for in this direction was their specialty. Additional reasons for this season of adversity were the general business depression, and the loss for a time of the personal supervision of Irving M. Scott.

Partly at the request of James G. Fair, with whom he had long held business relations, consulting him especially as to designs for mining machinery, in February 1880 he accompanied him on what was intended to be a trip to Hong Kong, and that with a stay of the briefest, but in his own case proved to be a trip around the world. Both were sorely in need of rest, with health impaired by the ceaseless

strain of overwork; for as with the millionaire, so with the engineer, each one had accomplished for many years the task of a dozen ordinary men. The journey was arranged in a single day, and three days thereafter we find Mr Scott on board the *City of Pekin*, bound for the port of Yokohama.

When the ship was a week or two out at sea there might have been observed, in a secluded corner of the quarter-deck, a group of men conversing, now in earnest and now in jocular mood. They were Mr Fair and his secretary, Captain Morse, commander of the vessel, and Irving M. Scott. On Thursday, the 18th of February, the *City of Pekin* had crossed the 180th meridian, and, as the saying is, had lost a day, Friday being omitted from the calendar. It was the loss of this day that formed the subject of their conversation.

"I will build a ship of my own in San Francisco," said Mr Fair, "and we will sail around the world and pick up that lost day."

"You will never find it by sailing west," remarked the captain. "Let me sail the new ship, and we will pick up plenty of things that other people have lost."

"Make me purser, and then every man shall get his due," declared the secretary.

"And I," said Mr Scott, "will build the works to build the ship."

If these last words were taken in jest, they were not so intended. It was but a few years later—in June 1887—when the *City of Pekin* was lying for repairs at the wharf of the Union Iron-works, that her former captain and Mr Scott exchanged congratulations on board the very ship where these air-castles had been built. The dream had now become a reality.

Of Bayard Taylor it has been said that no man ever travelled so far and saw so little; but in the case of Irving Scott this statement must be reversed. While in Europe he made a close study of the industries and industrial establishments of the several countries through which he journeyed, noting espe-

cially their methods of ship-building. He observed, moreover, and that with the deepest interest, the habits and customs of the people, and their various religions; in India studying that of the Parsees and idol worshippers, and inquiring as to the ground-work of their faith. The results of all these observations he preserved in his private journal. The information which he thus acquired was of far-reaching value, and among the improvements and facilities of the Union Iron-works are many suggested during this tour. But for that tour it is indeed probable that the foundry would never have attained to the rank which it now enjoys, as second to none of its class in all the United States. Many, also, are the lectures which he has delivered for charitable purposes from data obtained during this period.

Returning to San Francisco toward the close of 1880, Mr Scott found the affairs of the firm in a most unsatisfactory condition. So long as the yield of the Comstock was counted by monthly millions, machinery of such proportions as had never before been attempted was built at the Union Iron-works, and that in one sixth of the time that would have been required elsewhere, if elsewhere it could have been built at all. For this the most powerful engines were required, with the investment of a large amount of capital in plant, which, apart from that purpose, was of little value. Railroad development was for the time almost at a stand-still, and the demand for agricultural machinery was largely supplied by the foundries of the mid-continent states. In one direction only did there appear to be an outlet for the iron industries of San Francisco, and that was in the unoccupied fields of ocean, especially in the building of steel and iron steamers.

To such an addition to their other branches of business, and that at a time when half their machinery was idle, the other members of the firm were strongly opposed, for both were strictly conservative men. So

great, moreover, was the competition in the building of steamers, that they would have to work at cheaper rates than ever before; they must transfer their foundry to deep-water front, must build much larger and more expensive works, must provide them with additional machinery, and connect them with the railroad cars. But all these objections were combated by Mr Scott, who at length convinced his colleagues of the boundless possibilities that lay before them. The result has fully justified the soundness of his judgment, and displayed the clearness of his foresight.

Long before this date it had been the intention of H. J. Booth and company, the predecessors of the present firm, to erect such works on the water-front, and with this view they had taken in partial payment for machinery constructed for the Guadalupe mine at Santa Clara, six blocks of land at the Potrero, originally known as the Owens ship-yard. To these, three others were added, by purchase, in 1883, making in all some twenty-five acres as the site now occupied by the Union Iron-works, with a frontage on Central basin of more than a thousand feet, connected by rail with the Central and Southern Pacific, and thus with the railroad systems of the continent, and with an outlet to the Pacific ocean and the inland waters of California. The buildings, which are mainly of brick, include, among others, an iron-foundry, a brass-foundry, machine, boiler, and pattern shops, together with a ship-yard and dry-dock. The works are pronounced by competent judges to be the most complete of any of their class in the United States, and in their arrangement and equipment not excelled even by the best and largest of European ship-yards. And yet this enterprise is but the germ of what may be expected in the future, when, with additional capital and with yet greater facilities, fleets of steel and iron steamers may be added to the naval and commercial marine of the Pacific coast.

The machine and construction shops are enclosed within a building 200 by 215 feet, with a gallery 150 feet in length and 50 in width; the floor and gallery surface, the former traversed by car-tracks, covering an area of more than 46,000 square feet. The several shops are divided by rows of cast-iron pillars, two of them being provided with hydraulic cranes, with a run of 200 feet, each with a capacity of 60 tons, and operated by compressed-air engines. In the shop is an instrument that will plane a surface 12 feet wide and 26 in length, supplied with cutters suited for any kind of machinery. Other planers are of smaller size, according to the dimensions required. In the lathe department are special lathes for ship-work, one of them capable of turning a shaft 50 feet in length, or even a crank-shaft such as is used in compound-engines. This implement is said to be the most complete of its kind on this continent, and equalled only by the one manufactured for the navy-yard at Chatham, England.

In the boring-mill, which occupies a space about 50 feet square, is a machine which is used not only for boring, but for planing, drilling, slotting, and key-seating, combining all the most recent improvements. In addition to other boring-machines is one, that while boring through a cylinder ten feet in diameter will, without moving it, face off and drill holes in its ends. In this department is one of the most powerful hydraulic presses in existence, used for driving home crank-pins and pressing on crank-plates. But perhaps the most remarkable feature is, that, by means of an overhead travelling crane, marine engines of all sizes and patterns can be put together complete, and conveyed on a car to the wharf, where, by steam-shears with a capacity of 100 tons, they are placed in position on board the vessel. By thus avoiding the necessity of taking the machines apart and hauling them piecemeal to the steamer, their cost is materially reduced, and in this, as in other respects, the Union Iron-works

are not excelled by any among eastern or European establishments.

Adjoining the machine-shops is the engine-room, in which is a compound-engine with condensing apparatus and all the latest of modern appliances. Here, also, is the air-compressor, by which is furnished the motive-power for the travelling cranes and hydraulic pumps, with pumps for the accumulator, the weight on the ram of which is supplied by a single block of concrete, in the form of a cube, 10 feet on each face, and with a weight of 70 tons. In the boiler-house is a pair of tube-boilers of the latest pattern, furnishing steam to an engine of 250 horse-power, with space for another of like capacity, so that in case of accident there would be little cessation of work. Connected with the machine-shops is the tool-room, where are all the most recent appliances for the manufacture of tools. Adjoining the latter are the brass and copper shops, where is a full assortment of implements used for this class of work, with hydraulic cranes, and hardening, tempering, and other furnaces.

Next to them is the iron-foundry, a brick building 200 by 100 feet, and with a floor surface of 20,000 feet. Here, as in the machine and boiler shops, are contrivances by which a man can move from point to point, as required, and that with little effort, a weight of 100 tons. In the cupolas castings of 60 tons can be made within three hours, and by means of a travelling crane of the same capacity, removed to or from any point on the floor. They are built after the best and latest models, with an iron floor, and hydraulic lift for the fuel and material delivered on the car-track, by which the castings are also removed, without additional cost for handling. The blower has its separate engine, permitting the pressure of the blast to be regulated according to the condition of the furnace. Of the core-ovens the largest is 18 feet square, and can dry in the shortest space of time a core of 20

tons, with others in which cores are dried, down to a few ounces in weight.

Opposite to the foundry is the pattern-shop, a brick building 150 by 50 feet, and with four stories, the lowest of which is used for the running machinery and for the making of patterns, with a separate table and window for each of the workmen. The extent of its operations may be inferred from the fact that all the three remaining floors are required for the storage of patterns, and yet so perfect is the method of registering that any one of them can be found at a moment's notice. Adjacent to this is the store-room, with a complete system of fire-alarms and other appliances, insuring the safety of the materials which it contains. Here are iron racks for boiler-tubes, boiler-plates, and boiler-heads, with bar-iron of every shape and dimension. For everything that is delivered a receipt is signed, and an entry made of the purpose for which it is to be used, and the name of the person to whom it is handed, an order being first required from the foreman of his department.

In the boiler-shops are three hydraulic machines capable of placing rivets from two inches down to three eighths of an inch in diameter. In the hydraulic shears, which it contains, is one of the most complete of modern implements—one that can shear a steel plate an inch and a half in thickness, can flange a boiler-head, or shape a given surface to the pattern desired. There is a bending-machine for fashioning a given surface into any form required. There are planing-machines capable of cutting armor-plates eighteen inches thick, the plate being held in position by an ingenious hydraulic device. There are rollers for steel or iron plates up to an inch and a half in thickness, and of any length, and there are smaller implements of the very best description, hydraulic power being used wherever that is possible. At these shops one of the first large orders executed was in 1884, for the boilers of the *State of California*, 14 feet in diameter,

with plates an inch in thickness, and sustaining a pressure of 100 pounds of steam. The weight of each one was nearly 80 tons, and up to that date they were the largest ever manufactured on the Pacific coast.

The blacksmith-shop, contiguous to the boiler-shop, is supplied with steam-hammers, with hydraulic cranes, and all the best designs in the shape of tools and appliances required for forging and other work. A feature in the entire establishment is the use of hydraulic power, employed as far as is practicable in all mechanical processes, even to the opening and closing of doors and gates. The sanitary arrangements are of the best, and the buildings are well lighted, most of them by windows of corrugated glass fifteen feet by twelve, and at night by the electric dynamos contained in the engine-room.

North of the workshops is the ship-yard, with four building-slips of an aggregate area of 120,000 square feet, three of them fitted with overhead travelling cranes, for lifting plates and placing them in any position while vessels are under construction. The buildings include a machine-shed, with draughting-room, a mould-loft, above which is a dining-room, frame-bending sheds, blacksmith, coppersmith, joiner, polishing, galvanizing, pipe-fitting, and marine repair shops, boiler and engine houses, and several store-rooms and offices, with a total floor area of 75,000 square feet, the open storage room of the yard being 250,000 feet. To this must be added 115,000 feet of wharves, with a water frontage of 2,100 linear feet. The main wharf will sustain on its car-track a load of 100 tons, and is supplied with the iron shears already mentioned, 110 feet in height, capable of hoisting machinery of the heaviest description into the largest ship afloat. On the outer wharf is another pair of shears, 80 feet high, and with a lifting capacity of 30 tons. The hydraulic dry-dock, 435 feet long and 66 in width, is capable of lifting a dead weight of 4,500 tons, and is supplied with all the best appliances for handling ves-

sels of the heaviest tonnage. Here, since 1887, ships have been docked with an aggregate of nearly 500,000 tons displacement.

Among the tools and appliances in the ship-yard are punches that will punch through plates an inch and a quarter in thickness; drilling-machines; plate planers, of which the largest will plane a plate thirty feet long and eight in width; a large hydraulic press, that will bend, without heating, steel plates three inches in thickness into any shape required; a plate-furnace and slabs; a frame-bending furnace, and a scrieve-board one hundred by forty-five feet. In the blacksmith, joiner, and other shops are all the necessary implements, and those of most recent pattern, the first being supplied with steam-hammers, and the second with all the machinery requisite for working in wood. In the moulding-loft and drawing-room, where the lines of ships are planned and traced, are also the best of modern conveniences.

Such in the spring of 1891 were the Union Iron-works, with their 25 acres of ground, one third of it under roof, with 1,400 workmen, with $2,000,000 of invested capital, and with tools, machinery, and facilities as large and powerful as any in the United States; all this the outcome of the blacksmith-shop on Montgomery street, with a roofless tent for its only edifice, and for appliances the funnel of a dismantled steamer, and a pair of wheezy, old-fashioned bellows. And yet these works, though far in advance of all others on this coast, are by no means in advance of the demands of the time, have by no means reached, as yet, their fullest development. With a larger capital, with labor at cheaper rates and of more reliable character, with a revival in the ship-building trade, and with more liberal legislation in this direction, there is no practical limit to their future growth. The possibilities of that future can only be gauged by the ability and enterprise of their owners, and by the funds at their disposal. Of the former we have al-

ready had sufficient proof, and erelong the latter will doubtless be at their command. Here, should Mr Scott be spared to work out his life's ideal, may be found such works as will more largely compete with the shipping-yards of Philadelphia and the Clyde. Here may be steel and forging departments, where the most ponderous shafts and the heaviest guns can be manufactured, such guns as those of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, Cruesot in France, of Krupp in Germany, and of Whitworth in England. All these results are more than possible, are more than probable, considering what has already been accomplished; for here have been worked out some of the greatest experiments ever attempted by mankind—experiments that would surely have resulted in failure, except in the hands of one who knows no such word as fail.

And now let us hear what has already been achieved in the way of ship-building on the Pacific coast, more especially at the Union Iron-works. With a large extent of sea-coast containing many safe and commodious harbors, with an extensive maritime commerce, and an abundance of material and of skilled mechanics, ship-building was among the first of our manufacturing industries. Within a few years after the gold discovery there were several ship-yards on the shores of San Francisco harbor, with others at Oakland, Vallejo, and Humboldt bay, on Puget sound, and on the banks of the Columbia river. Nevertheless it was not until 1865 that the first vessel was produced of more than 500 tons register, and for many years later most of them were coasting craft, or steamboats and schooners intended only for harbor and river navigation. To the building of larger vessels there were several obstacles, most of which are in existence today. Chief among them was that iron was rapidly superseding wood, as in the end a more economical material, and on shipping iron the tariff imposed a duty of $43 a ton, against only $7.50 on railroad iron.

Another drawback was the cost of labor, ship-carpenters receiving from $4 to $5 a day—much higher rates than were paid in eastern yards and nearly double those paid in Europe. Thus even in the case of wooden ships, the cost of building and equipment for a vessel of 1,000 tons would be in California at the rate of $75 per ton, against $65 in the eastern states and $55 in England. As to iron ships, except for a few small steamers, it was not until recent years that they were even attempted, and in this, as in other directions, it remained for the Union Iron-works to lead the way.

In 1860, when Mr Scott first joined the Donahue foundry, engines and boilers were being manufactured for the sloop-of-war *Saginaw*, with others constructed before and after that date for high-pressure river boats and stern-wheel steamers. As yet no hulls had been built, though in 1863 the monitor *Comanche*, fashioned in the eastern states, was shipped in pieces to San Francisco on board the *Aquila*, and after being put together, was launched by Peter Donahue with the aid of the builder and James T. Rynan. For several years thereafter the only important work of this description was the manufacture of the engines for the steamboat *Capitol*.

It was not until 1882, after the present firm had been incorporated as the Union Iron-works, that its first contract was made with the government, and that only for the caisson of the dry-docks at the Mare Island navy-yards. Even this small favor was obtained with the greatest difficulty, and would probably never have been granted but for the persistent efforts of Mr Scott, who laid his case in person before the secretary of the navy, W. E. Chandler. True, his bid was the lowest; but could the future artificer of the *Charleston* and *San Francisco*, the *Monterey* and *Oregon*, give proof of his ability to perform this stupendous task —of building a caisson? Then there was the jealousy of eastern firms, with all the adverse influences which

they brought to bear, asking in sneering tones, as did the Pharisees of old, "Can any good thing come out of San Francisco?" At length, after more delay than would be required for negotiating a national loan, the contract was awarded, and the caisson built and delivered, without the first dispute or discrepancy as to any portion of the work.

Early in the Cleveland administration, bids were invited for the cruiser *Charleston*, and again that of the Union Iron-works was the lowest one received. After a careful examination of their facilities, together with the financial condition of the company, and the reputation of its members for skill and business integrity, the contract was awarded to Mr Scott and his colleagues. In 1889 the launch of the *Charleston*, a vessel of 3,750 tons displacement, of 7,000 horse-power, and with a speed of 19 knots an hour, opened a new era in the annals of San Francisco ship-building, proving, as it did, beyond a peradventure, the ability of the Union works to compete with eastern foundries in the building of steel cruisers of the larger class.

But as the bids were then being made for other vessels, to obtain any further contracts at the lowest figures would leave the company no margin of profit. Through the efforts of Mr Scott, with the aid of certain congressmen, whose support was readily granted, and especially of Senator Morgan of Alabama, the act which authorized the building of cruisers was so amended in 1885 as to provide that one of them should be built on Pacific waters, though authorizing the president and the secretary of the navy, if unable to contract at reasonable prices, to order their construction in such navy-yards as they might designate. Under this amended act the steel cruiser *San Francisco* was awarded to the Union Iron-works at a price only $18,000 higher than the lowest bid of eastern ship-builders. The performance of this vessel, which was launched in the spring of 1890, was of 4,130 tons

displacement, of 10,000 horse-power, and with a speed of 20 knots, surpassed even that of the *Charleston*. Under a forced blast, during the four hours' run at her official trial in the Santa Bárbara channel, she exceeded by nearly two knots the required limit, making the fastest time that had ever been recorded for a cruiser of her class.

In a subsequent act of congress, permitting the construction of additional war-ships, the clause referred to was omitted; but on account of some irregularity, the bids of eastern ship-builders for the coast-defence vessel *Monterey* were thrown out, and the contract was awarded to the Union works.

The 28th of April, 1891, was a day that will not be readily forgotten by Irving M. Scott, for then it was that the *Monterey*, his latest triumph in naval architecture, was launched in the presence of President Harrison, of the postmaster-general, and an assemblage of more than 20,000 citizens, among them being many of our state and local officials, our leading men in the professions and business. The success of the launch was perfect, so perfect, indeed, as to call forth the warmest encomiums of the nation's chief executive, encomiums more than once repeated as arm in arm with Mr Scott he made the tour of the Union Iron-works.

Then came the contracts for cruisers number two and number six, the latter, a vessel of 5,800 tons, 13,500 horse-power, and a speed of 20 knots, being assigned to the Union works as the only responsible bidder. For the former their bid was $50,000 lower than those of eastern ship-builders on the plan proposed by the government, but $14,000 more than what was asked on the plans proposed by the bidders themselves. After a spirited contest, attended with no small degree of popular excitement, public sentiment being strongly in favor of the Pacific coast, the contract was awarded to an eastern firm.

A year or two later, when the building of other vessels was authorized, the amendment was again introduced, providing, on this occasion, that one or more

of them be built on the Pacific coast. Under its provisions the Union works secured the contract for the line-of-battle ship *Oregon*, an iron-clad, with the heaviest battery ever carried under such conditions of speed and coal endurance, one of the very highest type, and never before attempted in the history of naval architecture. Her length on the water line will be 348 feet, with an extreme breadth of 69¼ feet, and a mean draught of 24 feet; displacement, 10,200 tons; indicated horse-power, 9,000; and estimated speed, 15 knots an hour. Her armament will consist of 16 breech-loading rifle-guns, four of them of 13-inch, eight of 8-inch, and four of 6-inch bore; four Hotchkiss revolving cannon; six Howell torpedo-boats, and 28 rapid-firing rifle-guns. Thus we have five large men-of-war already constructed or to be constructed at the Union Iron-works, and as the results obtained have far surpassed all expectation, surpassed even the efforts of the foremost of eastern firms, such firms as Cramp and sons of Philadelphia, further contracts will doubtless be awarded to them as additions are made to our naval marine.

Before the outbreak of the rebellion, the construction of war-ships had been restricted to single and double turreted monitors, with corvettes for revenue and other service, most of them built of wood. Then came Ericsson's iron monitors, mounted with smooth-bore guns, working a complete revolution in naval architecture. In later years, we have in the *Dolphin*, *Atlanta*, *Boston*, and *Chicago*, some of the highest types of vessels built or ordered by the government; but all of them have been excelled by the Union Iron-works. As in the *Charleston* we have the highest evolution of a single-turreted monitor attained at the time of her contract, so in the *San Francisco* we have the highest type of a swift and powerful cruiser, and in the *Monterey*, an armor-plated and double-turreted monitor of stronger offensive and defensive armor than any that has yet been produced. In design and workmanship,

these vessels, all of them built under the personal superintendence of Mr Scott, have never been excelled by any ship-yard in the United States, and in performance they have never as yet been equalled.

Many additions the Union works have made to our commercial marine since first, in 1884, they added ship-building to the other branches of their business. In the following year was launched the screw steamer *Arago*, of 1,450 tons, the first all-steel merchant vessel built in the United States. In 1886 were completed the steam-yacht *Adeline*, the government harbor-boat *General McDowell*, and the steamer *Balboa;* in 1887, the steel lake-steamer *Meteor*, the steel passenger-steamer *Premier*, of 850 tons, the steel passenger and freight steamer *Pomona*, of 1,750 tons, and the steel tug *Active;* in 1888, the steel tug *Collis*, and the steel launch *Romola;* and in 1890, the steel yacht *Whisper;* or a total, from 1884 to the close of 1890, including the war-ships already mentioned, of 17,274 tons, nearly all consisting of steel-clad vessels.

While during the construction of the *Charleston*, *San Francisco*, and *Monterey* there were but few orders for merchant or passenger steamers, many orders were filled for boilers and machinery, for repairs, and other classes of work. For several large ocean-going craft boilers were supplied, with such repairs as the fitting of bulk-heads, keelsons, reverse-frames, and floor-plates. Others were refitted with masts and spars, or repaired in the hull, and on still others additions were made to their passenger accommodation. The *Walla Walla*, *San Pablo*, and *Umatilla* were converted from freight into passenger boats, each with a hurricane-deck, with saloons handsomely finished in hard wood and furnished with electric lights. Several vessels which had been sunk, or had suffered from collision, were partially rebuilt, as the *Umatilla*, the *Queen of the Pacific*, the *Arago*, the *Walla Walla*, and the *Earl of Dalhousie*. The *Kenilworth*, which took fire at the Port Costa wharf, while loading with

wheat, was reconstructed from the 'tween decks upward, and on others, too numerous here to be mentioned, extensive repairs and additions were made.

While thus building and repairing vessels of every size, from a 10-ton yacht to a 10,000-ton line-of-battle ship, the Union Iron-works furnished employment, as I have said, to some 1,400 workmen, and indirectly to several thousands more. As their supplies and material were largely purchased in San Francisco, they swelled the business volume of the metropolis, while their imports and exports added to the business of railroads and ship-owners. Since the works were removed to the Potrero, hundreds of dwellings and stores have been erected in their neighborhood, and real estate has increased enormously in value. All these and other benefits have been wrought by the young draughtsman who, some thirty years ago, entered the foundry of Peter Donahue at a salary of less than $100 a month. In the truest sense of the word has Irving M. Scott been a builder of this our western commonwealth; for his it has ever been to build up, and not to destroy. The work that he has done has been for the benefit of state and nation, far more than for his own; and for every dollar that he has earned for himself, his inventions alone have added at least a hundred to the sum of that nation's wealth.

To the visitor who may be accorded the privilege of spending a few hours at the Union Iron-works, the first thing that will occur is the perfect order and system that prevail in every department, and the next is the ubiquitous presence of Irving M. Scott. In the drawing-room he will be found perfecting some new design, or testing the accuracy of the draughtsmen's plans; in the ship-yard, making a close and critical inspection of the work, and especially that on the war-vessel which may at the time be on hand. Except for a second tour of the works before the time of closing, the afternoon hours are passed for the most part at his office, attending to a multiplicity of duties.

If time permit, he may enter into conversation, especially as to the projects which he has nearest at heart. Like other self-made and successful men, he feels that he has still a destiny before him; that he has still a great work to accomplish, not for his own advancement, but for the benefit of his fellow-man. On money for its own sake he places but little value, regarding it only as a means to an end, and to him no task could be more distasteful than that of adding dollar to dollar as a miser accumulates his hoard. If he has gathered for himself a moderate fortune, moderate, at least, as fortunes are now computed, he has added infinitely more to the possessions of others. He considers it almost as a duty to provide at remunerative wages every possible source of employment for the greatest possible number, and partly with this view it is among his projects to establish at the Union Iron-works a department for the manufacture of steel in all its modern forms. Should he speak of his own personal efforts in securing the contracts for the *Charleston* and other war-ships, he would mention this as among the most trying experience of his life; for then he fought single-handed, and in the face of the keenest competition, against the prejudice and ignorance of officials and the enmity of rivals, fought against sectional jealousies and combinations, social, financial, and political.

Many were the congratulations extended to Mr Scott on returning from his several visits to Washington, and especially when he brought with him the contract for the *Monterey*. The press did justice to the occasion, and from bankers, merchants, and mechanics came memorials that betokened their esteem. But the one which he valued most was a memorial from his own workmen, presented on the 10th of June, 1890, and of which the following is a copy:

"We, the workingmen of the Union Iron-works, conjointly with your friends, desire on this occasion to give expression of our appreciation of the sterling

ability, untiring energy, and devotion displayed by you in the interest and welfare of California.

"You have labored hard and steadfastly for the improvement of our state, a state scarcely forty years of age, but made, by the earnest endeavors of yourself and others, one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of states.

"Through your efforts California has been recognized as capable of building a portion of our new navy; and the *Charleston* rides the sea to-day, a monument of your ability and skill.

"You return to us laden with other contracts, which will again test the ability and resources of California, and again prove the confidence reposed in you by our government.

"We welcome you to your home, we welcome you to our hearts, and bid you God-speed in your efforts to enlarge the sphere of usefulness of your fellow-men.

"As citizens of California, we share with you the honor you have so nobly won, and claim the right to say: 'God bless you, Irving M. Scott.'"

In the chamber of commerce, of which, as of the manufacturers' association, Mr Scott is a member, a motion was introduced to tender its congratulations on the success of the *Charleston* in passing her official test. "But," said one of the wise men of that honorable association, "we cannot commit the chamber of commerce; for they might have made a failure." To this another member replied: "It is of great benefit to the coast, even if they had never succeeded." In truth Mr Scott was not without his detractors, and among them were many who predicted not only his failure in the building of armored cruisers, but the utter collapse of the entire establishment, to which, when half-finished, they had given the name of the Scott cathedral. But those laugh best who laugh last, and long ago he had schooled himself to regard the world's opinion with philosophical indifference. Certain it is that never, in the darkest hour of his

trial, did the artificer of the Union Iron-works lose faith in their success.

Before taking leave of these works it may be mentioned that here was constructed the largest quartz-mill on the Pacific coast, and with one exception, the heaviest pumping machinery, the latter erected, at a cost of $500,000, for the Union Consolidated mine, and capable of hoisting from a depth of 4,000 feet 106,000 gallons an hour. Here also was built the huge dome of the Lick observatory, declared by Lord Rosse to be the greatest mechanical feat of the age.

In other directions, apart from the Union Iron-works, with its manifold and far-reaching operations, the skill and enterprise of Irving M. Scott have left their impress on the industries and institutions of the Pacific coast. To him was largely due, as one of the promoters and largest shareholders, the development of the Clipper Gap iron mine, probably the richest in California. As a director in the Donahue-Kelly banking incorporation, the successor to one of the oldest and most successful private banks in the state, he has given proof of his ability as a financier. As president of the San Francisco Art association, of the Mechanics' institute, and the Young Men's Republican club, as a regent of the university of California, as a trustee of the Leland Stanford university, of the San Francisco academy of sciences, and of the Free library, his influence has also made itself felt. Nor should his services be forgotten when, in 1877, as a member of the executive committee, he assisted in quelling, without bloodshed, the riots of a ruffian mob. He was also one of those appointed to receive the Japanese embassy in 1879, to extend to General Grant, at his arrival in this city on his world-embracing tour, the welcome of her citizens, and to preside as chairman of the literary exercises which all too soon were held in honor of his memory. He was chosen one of the judges for the centennial exhibition at Philadelphia, and finally, in April 1891, he was elected by a unanimous vote president of the

California commission to represent that state at the world's fair in Chicago in 1893, representing also, in conjunction with James D. Phelan, her commercial and manufacturing interests; also appointed one of the reception committee to receive President Harrison.

Though a native of Maryland, and reared under southern influences, in his political creed Mr Scott is a thorough republican, always regarding slavery as an evil, and one in conflict with the principles laid down in the declaration of independence. So long as it existed as a state right, and as such was recognized by the constitution of the United States, he held that the provisions relating thereto, as expounded by Daniel Webster, should be maintained in their integrity. But when the south rose in arms, attempting by force to fasten this institution on the American people, his very soul revolted, and striving with all his might against the iniquity, he never ceased his efforts until the shackles fell from every slave, and the foul stain of compulsory servitude disappeared from the face of the land.

In local politics he has taken an active part, receiving in 1872 the republican nomination for the state senatorship, on which occasion he led his ticket, though the so-called Dolly Vardens carried the day. In casting his ballot he votes for the man, and not for the party, serving for twelve years as a member of the tax-payers' convention, whose object was to nominate for office honest and capable men, irrespective of creed or sect.

As to his political opinions, it may, first of all, be stated that Mr Scott is a strong protectionist, pointing, in support of his theory, to the effect on the industries of the country of the alternating policy of the several parties in power. Without exception, as he remarks, adversity has attended the adoption of free trade, and prosperity followed in the wake of protection. Thus under the former régime, the periods between 1816 and 1824, 1832 and 1842, and 1846 and 1861, were

marked by business depression, while during the intervening eras the United States gradually attained to their present rank as the greatest of commercial and wealth-producing nations, the increase of national wealth since 1860 exceeding $40,000,000,000. He is also strongly in favor of amendments to our immigration laws, believing that unrestricted immigration, whether Asiatic or European, is fraught with serious peril to the commonwealth. For his views on these and kindred subjects I refer the reader to one of his magazine articles published in the *Overland Monthly* for October 1886, and from which I will here give a few brief extracts.

Quoting from a speech of Henry Clay in which the great orator remarks: "The great battle of the world is between freedom and despotism; between European capital and labor on one side, and American labor and capital on the other. On this point turns the destiny of nations," Mr Scott continues: "Since the utterance of this great truth fifty years ago, despotism has immensely increased its forces, has enlisted Asiatic labor, and multiplied the machine labor of Europe indefinitely, so that now, in this aggression of despotism, American labor is besieged on the west by an army of Chinese labor four hundred million strong, and on the east by the still more powerful forces of European capital and European pauper labor, on the north by French Canadian labor, and on the south by that of Mexican peonage. The conflict between these allied forces and free American labor is irrepressible. There is no such thing as peace between them. I appeal to the evidence, the facts in the case. The civilization of the Asiatic division is in deadly hostility to the civilization of progress. The vices of seventy centuries of uniform despotism and slavery seem to be infused into the mind and constitution of the Chinese, and so far our experience with this foreign foe indicates that seventy centuries more will be required to eliminate these inherited or constitutional vices.

"Who so blind as not to perceive that unrestricted Chinese immigration into this country—in other words, Asiatic slavery—means war, war to the hilt, between servile and free labor, war whose consuming flames will far exceed in intensity of heat and in scope those that a few years ago, in consequence of African slavery, seriously threatened the destruction of the American union? African slavery was involuntary, and limited; Chinese slavery is the normal condition of the mass of that people, and is virtually unlimited; hence its greater menace to free labor.

"The restriction of such foreign immigration and foreign imports as are injurious to our domestic affairs should be written on the title-page of every American work on political economy, taught in our public schools and at the home fireside, proclaimed from the American pulpit, and made the fundamental law of the land. I have already stated that Chinese immigration and European pauper immigration are injurious—are a curse to our domestic affairs. They should therefore be restricted to the extent of utter prohibition. For the determination of what foreign imports are injurious, Joshua Gee, a British writer of great force and clearness, furnishes us with the proper standard, in these words: 'The surest way for a nation to increase in riches is to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as may be raised at home.'

"'The law of nations,' it has been remarked, 'enjoins upon every nation the due observance of benevolence and good-will, as well as justice, toward its neighbors.' This is the true policy of a nation that would prosper, be happy, and long endure. It beats swords into plough-shares, spears into pruning-hooks, and converts impoverishing armies of war into those of peaceful industry, by which innumerable homes are cheered with the objects of comfort and luxury, and the state enriched. This policy, pursued by the United States and Mexico, will secure the monopoly of their markets for the products of American labor.

The aggregate area of these countries exceeds twice that of Europe, including proximate islands. Their natural resources equally surpass those of that grand division of the globe. Indeed, their exuberant fertility yields an abundant harvest, with but little exertion on the part of the cultivators.

"Now progress does not loiter. The immense resources of these countries are to be developed; the broad, fertile fields are to be tilled; the rich, exhaustless mines worked; the extensive forests of timber and choice woods are to be felled, and their material reared and fashioned into objects of usefulness and beauty; the rare products that minister to man's comforts or delight his senses are to be gathered for his uses; and the endless herds of cattle are to be utilized as food for millions of the human race. Shall these developments be made under the guidance of European nations, and to the advantage of European labor? or shall they be made under the guidance of the United States, and to the advantage of American labor? To effect these developments, manufactures to the value of billions of dollars will be required. Shall they be the manufactures of European labor, or of American labor?

"Our geographical position defies competition. Seas roll between Europe and this matchless prize, while to us it is at hand. The locomotive, the most efficient agent of commerce, practically annihilates distance. Indeed, from that noble eminence whither the firm steps of reason, not the airy wings of fancy, bear us, are seen looming the bright possibilities of no distant future; the divisions and subdivisions of the American continent joined with links of steel; and the locomotive, that great apostle of progress and civilization, going forth, demonstrating that the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries indigenous to the different climes, are for the enjoyment of the whole American family, from the frozen north to the frozen south, and from ocean to ocean."

Thus clearly and forcibly does Mr Scott express his well-considered and far-reaching views on the social and industrial problems of the day. As to the future of his country, it will be seen that he is somewhat of an optimist, and especially is this the case with regard to the Pacific states. Here, he believes, can be maintained, with a proper distribution of labor, and with an equitable distribution of the earnings of labor, a larger population to the square mile than in any other portion of the world. Here, he considers, they can be better fed and clad and housed, can be better educated, and can enjoy in greater measure the comforts and amenities of life. Nor is he alone in this opinion, as elsewhere in this work will be seen in the views expressed by others of our leading citizens.

And now let us hear the opinions of Mr Scott as to the labor question, as to labor combinations, strikes, and trades-unions, together with something of their history; for on such topics his long and varied experience entitles him to rank as an authority. First of all, he believes that the best results have thus far been obtained through the unfettered freedom of the individual; that the highest wages and the most beneficial employment have been given to the greatest number; that the sources of employment have been most enlarged when under no restraint from the rules and restrictions of trades-unions. Such organizations, when directed to other than their legitimate purpose of improving the social condition of the workman, he considers as among the most demoralizing that were ever instituted for the degradation of mankind. In the *Overland Monthly* for March 1891 we have from his own pen a most able and exhaustive article in this connection, one specially directed against the constitution of the Iron Moulders' union, and the regulations of its local branch in San Francisco.

"An inspection of these rules and laws," says Mr Scott, "shows that a man, in becoming a member of the Iron Moulders' union, surrenders his individuality

and manhood to the organization; renounces his right to 'sign contracts with his employer'; pledges himself 'to be governed by the constitution, rules, and usages of the Iron Moulders' union of America'; makes oath that he will not disconnect himself from this organization by resignation or otherwise; subjects himself to such penalties as the union may see fit to impose upon him for his failure on written notice to attend any regular or special meeting of the union; subjects him in case of being a foreman, and using his position to the detriment of the union or any member thereof, to be mulcted in a fine of from $50 to $200 for the first offence, and for the second offence to be expelled from the union, a penalty synonymous with that of banishment from the country on pain of social and industrial death within the arrogated jurisdiction of the union; pledges himself not to divulge any of the secret work of the union under the penalty of expulsion, thus precluding redress through the established courts of justice for any wrong perpetrated upon him by the union." But even worse than all this was the unwritten law of the union, the intent and application of which is determined solely by its managers—"a law," says Mr Scott, "as variable in its operation as the chameleon in its colors." His position and stand for California boys, taken 23 years ago, may be shown by a quotation from his statement published in the *Morning Call*, July 10, 1869: "There can be no compromise? Compromise what? We have invaded no rights of theirs; no rules of their union. We placed a California boy in the core-room, there to remain until a vacancy occurred on the moulding-floor according to the moulders' union; not according to our judgment. They demand his discharge, or strike; asked nothing else—but demanded his discharge under penalty of a strike. They did strike; are now on a strike; and as far as we are concerned, may remain on a strike forever. We do not intend to discharge the boy." That boy never was discharged.

It was in June 1869 that the first serious trouble occurred with the union, and that from a trivial matter which need not here be related, though one that clearly revealed the intention of its managers to control the Union Iron-works. After an ineffectual remonstrance, the proprietors thus replied to their demands: "If you order a strike on this account, we will spend what means we can command to run this foundry outside of the Moulders' union, and if we cannot succeed, we will sell out to some one who can." The very next day the strike began, and was continued for several months, causing to the firm only a slight inconvenience, for under the training and direction of Mr Scott, non-union workmen were presently executing work of excellent quality and at rates from thirty to fifty per cent below their former average. Before the strike, for instance, the cost for labor on a quartz mortar-mould was $23; after the strike it was $12.50. As for the strikers themselves, within a few months they were only too glad to return to the foundry, with wages reduced from $4.50 to $3 a day.

But here the line was sharply drawn, and with moulders who were also members of the union the firm would have nothing more to do. In answer to an article in the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the firm replied that they did not employ, and did not intend to employ, union men in any capacity. "It is our intention," they said, "to meet any and all competition from abroad or at home, and pay such wages as will enable us to meet our obligations, always recognizing the right of every man to accept or reject our terms, and we never intend to allow any dictation as to how we shall conduct our business, whom we shall employ, or what wages we shall pay."

Thus, as Mr Scott remarks, the union, instead of placing its feet on the necks of its employers, itself bit the dust; soon, however, to be resuscitated, and with pretensions more insufferable than ever before. In

February 1885, another strike was ordered, caused by a proposed reduction of fifteen per cent in wages in the Union, Risdon, and Fulton foundries, one due to extreme depression in business, and an abatement of more than twenty-five per cent in the prices of eastern machinery. Although, as stated in their notice, the only alternative was the discharge of the greater portion of their employés, or perhaps an entire suspension of work, the company conceded the point; but with the result that the market was flooded with eastern machinery, and with the diminished home demand, hundreds of workmen lost their only source of employment.

And now there was no limit to the arrogance of the union managers. They forbade the employment, not only of non-union moulders, but even of apprentices, except in the ratio of one to eight. They forbade employés to accept less than $3.50 a day, no matter if their services were dear at half that rate. They forbade that the hours of work should be curtailed, even during the short winter days, or when dullness of trade required it. They sought to limit the daily task that each workman should perform, placing that task at less than half the equivalent of a fair day's work. They denied the right of the company to discharge any moulder who was also a member of the union, no matter how good and sufficient the reasons. They established a system of espionage in the several foundries, with orders to report all infringements of their rules, appointing for that purpose a so-called committee, and over that committee a spy, on the principle, it is presumed, of "setting a thief to catch a thief." Chief among their duties was to see that none of the operatives should exceed the prescribed limit of work, to threaten those who did so with a fine for the first offence, and for the second, expulsion from the union, a penalty more dreaded by the union man than was ostracism by the Athenian. If this be not despotism, a despotism such as was never at-

tempted even by the autocrat of all the Russias, then have we yet to learn the meaning of the word.

Early in 1890 matters came to a crisis. In January of that year the members of the union, represented by a committee, were invited to a conference, at which the following most reasonable terms were proposed: That the union should consent to the admission of a larger proportion of apprentices, who, on the expiration of their term, should be required to work for a year under the foreman's instruction, before receiving the minimum rate of wages; that this minimum be fixed at $3 a day, and that all limitation on work should cease. Although it was proved to the satisfaction of the committee that the wages paid at the Union works were fully 75 per cent above the eastern standard, these conditions were refused, nor was there even the offer of a compromise, the union still persisting in a policy which wrought intolerable hardship to the members of the Founders' association.

At length their patience was exhausted, and foreseeing, as Mr Scott remarks, that the managers of the Moulders' union were intent on "rule or ruin," foreseeing that should they rule, inevitable ruin must result, they now resolved on decisive measures. On the 21st of February, 1890, the union was notified that within some twenty days from that date the following resolutions would take effect: The Founders' association would not recognize the right of the union to forbid the employment of non-union men, to limit the number of apprentices employed, or to regulate the amount of work that the men should perform. No restriction would be tolerated as to the minimum of wages, all wages to be paid at a certain rate per hour, and ten hours to constitute a day's work, unless shorter hours should be adopted by eastern foundries; but fifty per cent additional would be paid for overtime, with double rates for work performed on Sundays and holidays.

To this notification the union returned no answer,

and a week before the time specified in the resolutions, entered on a strike against all the iron-works under the control of the Founders' association. The time selected was most inopportune, and, as it would seem, intended as a surprise to employers, who, left with contracts on their hands, would be subjected to considerable loss. But whatever loss and inconvenience were at the time sustained have since been more than compensated by the greater quantity of work produced by non-union moulders, stated by Mr Scott and other credible witnesses at fifty per cent more than was accomplished under what he justly terms "the drone system."

In the middle of June a communication was forwarded to the Founders' association, stating that whereas the contracts for naval work — cruisers number two and number six — soon to be awarded, would not be given to firms where labor troubles existed, with a view to prevent such contracts being assigned to eastern foundries, the union proposed that a conference should be held with a view to adjust the strike. To this the association replied that the members of the union, though granted all the just privileges of American citizens, had left their employment without notice; that others had taken their places, whose services were satisfactory; therefore the association knew of nothing to adjust, and for that reason saw no occasion for a meeting. In due time, as we have seen, the contract for cruiser number six was awarded to the Union works, and for the other they were slightly underbid in fair and honorable competition.

But the end was not yet. No sooner was the strike inaugurated than, in open defiance of the law of the land, the association foundries were surrounded by union pickets. Non-union moulders were assaulted and beaten, were stabbed and shot at by this lawless gang; "were assaulted," says Mr Scott, "for simply exercising their legal and moral right of earning their

bread in the places vacated by the union moulders of their own volition, or in abject servitude to the bidding of their tyrant masters, the managers of the union. These assaults have occurred by day and by night, in darkened alleys, on the public streets, on cars and cabs, and even in the sleeping apartments of the pursued—wherever an unprotected non-union moulder could be found or reached." And not only did the union fail to expel the guilty members; it even defended them; defended them to the last, and with all the weight of its influence, thus converting whatever there had been of misguided public sympathy into a feeling of abhorrence and disgust.

Such, in brief, is a summary of this most vigorous and interesting article, one that has been more widely read than any published within recent years in the pages of the *Overland Monthly*. With trades-unions and kindred organizations Mr Scott was never in sympathy; nor does he heed the oft-repeated cry of demagogues that through their operations the standard of wages is maintained. Among European and perhaps among eastern communities, such associations may be of benefit; but here it is not so. Here, he considers, better wages have been paid, better results obtained, and a better feeling has prevailed between employer and employed, when each one was left to go and to come, to pay and to be paid, as his needs or interests dictated. To him that system is most obnoxious which would dictate to a workman for whom he shall work, for how many hours in the day, the amount of work he shall do in those hours, and the lowest wages he shall accept. If his services are worth ten dollars a day, he should receive that rate, and if they are worth but a single dollar, he should have no more. But the main object of labor unions is to establish uniform rates of wages, and so to limit the daily task that the least skilful of their members, or the veriest drone among them, can accomplish it. The effect is to destroy the ambition of the more expert and indus-

trious operatives, who, seeing that they earn no more than the rest, either follow their example, or find employment elsewhere. Such a system, moreover, prevents either kindness or liberality; prevents consideration for age, or encouragement to the young, reducing all to the hard and soulless level of a trade, and leaving nothing to generosity, friendship, or association.

From what has been said, it must not be inferred that Mr Scott is wanting in sympathy for his employés or for the working classes in general; on the contrary, they have no more generous advocate. To trades-unions he is only opposed when they exceed their legitimate functions, interfering with the rights of the employer, and by a system of tyranny, terrorism, and espionage abasing instead of improving the condition of the employed. In a foundry, factory, or other establishment where labor is largely employed, he believes that we should have a mutual aid society, in which the accidents and misfortunes of life should be shared and relieved, and where the workman's remuneration should be at the highest rates that the nature of the enterprise will permit. In an article entitled the Mission of the Knights of Labor, published in the *Overland Monthly* for May 1887, he says: "I am in favor of the highest wages consistent with maximum industry, and the greatest good to the greatest number. I am in favor of every American, whether native-born or naturalized, being free and independent, well fed, well clothed, well sheltered, well educated in practical, scientific learning, and thoroughly imbued with the principles of moral right."

In other articles from the pen of Irving M. Scott, we have some of the most valuable contributions to the current literature of the day, and especially in those which have appeared at intervals in the *Overland Monthly*. To him was largely due the resuscitation of that magazine, languishing, as it did, in a moribund condition, when Bret Harte withdrew from the editorship, and his idyls no longer enriched its pages.

For the most part its contributors were utter strangers to each other, and with a view to make them acquainted, Mr Scott invited them to a dinner party, at which were present all the most celebrated among our local writers. The result was soon apparent in the improvement noticed in its tone, no less than in its circulation.

But it is rather as a lecturer and speaker, even than as a writer, that Mr Scott is esteemed among the more cultured circles of the metropolis. Though never putting himself forward, when the occasion demands it, his voice is always heard at public gatherings, and to him there is no more pleasant task than thus to pass an hour in communion with his fellowman. In boyhood he practised the art of speaking, addressing the trees, the rocks, and the running waters, during his lonely hours at the Hebron mills. On making his home in San Francisco, he became a member and was afterward elected president of the Addisonian debating society, in connection with the Howard street church, receiving there, as he relates, some of the most valuable lessons of his life. Those who would judge as to his oratory may be referred to the address which he delivered at the opening of the Mechanics' fair in 1869, and for which he received the personal congratulations of William H. Seward; to one on the Spirit of the Age and its Requirements, at the annual fair of the state board of agriculture, in September 1883; to one on the Development of Science, in July 1889, the occasion being the laying of the corner-stone of the California academy of sciences, and to one delivered on the national birthday of the same year, when was unveiled the monument of Francis Scott Key, erected at Golden Gate park, according to the provisions of the Lick trust.

As to the private life of Mr Scott, it may, first of all, be said that he was never given to any form of

dissipation or extravagance, or if so, it was in the shape of an extravagant fondness for works of art. At his residence, on Harrison street, may be seen the choicest productions of such artists as Virgil Williams and Travernier, of Hill and Rix, of Bouvey and Brown, of Guy and Brooks, of Humphry Moore and Matilda Lotz. But of all his pictures, the one that he values most is from the brush of Toby Rosenthal, representing the trial scene of Constance de Beverley, the subject of which was selected by himself and the members of his family. This he regards as among the greatest of modern paintings, one that when compared even with the finest works of the old masters will not suffer by the comparison. Here it may be mentioned that, under the auspices of Mr Scott, an exhibition was held of the Rosenthal collection, and the proceeds, exceeding $10,000, applied to charitable purposes. Many are those for whose canvasses he has found a purchaser, or purchased himself, as the only means of relieving their distress; for this he considers as in the nature of an obligation.

In literature his tastes are catholic, inclining rather to history, but including all that is best among the culled treasures of ancient and modern times. In standard poetry he is also thoroughly versed, and among his favorite poets are Oliver Wendell Holmes and Sir Edwin Arnold. With the author of *The Light of Asia* he is personally acquainted, reading that matchless epic while at Benares, during his tour around the world. At the time when this memoir was written, he was engaged in the study of the bible, of bible history and bible characteristics, not as a religious exercise, but simply as a study, and to him a source of enjoyment. A member of the First congregational church, he looks upon church organizations and creeds as instruments for good, believing that with the progress of moral and intellectual culture men will do right for its own sake, and not through fear of future punishment, or hope of future reward.

In October 1863, Mr Scott was married to Laura, the daughter of John R. Horde, of Covington, Kentucky. Descended from one of the oldest of southern families, her own intrinsic worth, her culture and refinement, the graces of her womanhood, as wife and mother, as friend and benefactress, are in perfect keeping with her ancient and honorable lineage. Of their four children, Murray D. and Bessy died in infancy. Alice W., their only surviving daughter, bids fair to rival her mother in the qualities that most adorn her sex, and Laurance Irving, their only son, who inherits most of his father's characteristics, has already given proof of his ability to take up the burden which presently his sire will lay down.

And now I have related the career of the great naval artificer, of one of the greatest of modern engineers—related it at least so far as it has been fulfilled; for verging only toward the autumn of life, with faculties still unimpaired, and a worthy ambition still unsatisfied, he has before him many years of usefulness. It is not through the mere casting of facts and principles into iron and steel that the fame of Irving M. Scott will long outlive his achievements; his life and labors have an ethical and an intellectual as well as a material significance. So long as such men live and work, there is less danger of moral decadence in our midst; for one such mind will quicken a multitude of others, will purify the streams of human thought, of human action, of human existence, as they flow ever onward to the unknown sea. Such men come not in throngs, not many, perchance not one, in a generation; but by such examples alone is the way prepared for that higher development which erelong shall here be witnessed, when the moral and intellectual status of California shall rise to a level with her material greatness.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOMINATING INFLUENCES IN THE WESTERN INTERIOR.

A Region of Wealth and Fascinations—Power of Religion in Diverse Parts—Achievements of Science in the Colorado Country—Life of William Gilpin—Ancestry and Early Environment—Visit to England—In Oregon and Colorado—Mexican and Indian Wars—Governor and Federal Agent—Cosmopolitan Railway.

Elsewhere in this work I speak of the effect upon government finances of the Comstock lode output of precious metal during the civil war, and the reflex influence of patriotism in the evolution of a state. I speak also of the power of religion, as displayed along the seaboard of California, in the valleys of Oregon, and in the deserts of Utah, in subduing the wilderness and planting the flowers of civilization. But passing for the present this fascinating region, we will come at once to the scene of labors of him whose biography illustrates development here.

Colorado is a monumental state. Situated midway between the parental Atlantic districts and the rising Pacific commonwealths, it lies also half-way between the north and south borders of the republic, and on the dividing point on the continent between the two oceans, on either side of the central cordillera. It is a phenomenal state. Founded on a base of rich gold, rises the paler substructure of the silver era, to support in time the stable edifice fashioned from the more beneficial material of the coal and

iron periods, surrounded by the irrigation canals associated with a high type of agriculture. It is a red-letter state in name as well as in birth and exceptional progress.

It is remarkable for covering the oldest land in this part of the continent. In the gradual upheaval from deep sea soundings, the San Juan range first divided the waters, followed at intervals far apart by the Sangre de Cristo, the Mojada, and the Colorado or Front ranges. The detritus washed on the east into shallow water formed a long slope while yet the ocean thundered at the more abrupt western base of the mother range.

It is essentially a mountain country, crossed by several ranges and countless peaks ranging from 9,000 to 14,500 feet above the sea, and walling in with majestic cliffs and inclines the large elevated valleys known as parks, covered with luxuriant grasses, threaded by the purest of streams, beautified by lakes and dotted with groves. They lie at an altitude of from 7,500 to 8,800 feet, and vary from cosy hollows to the thirty mile diameter of the North park, the 65 by 45 mile of the Middle and South parks, and the vastness of the San Luis park, which is nearly as large as all the rest combined. Below, narrow fertile vales skirt the numerous rivers, fringed with cotton-wood and willow.

The waters from the springs and banks of eternal snow flow into several mighty streams. The South Platte, with its forty tributaries, rises among the peaks of the Colorado range, the North Platte in the Park range. The royal Arkansas interlaces in the Saguache range with the Grand river, and collects in its descent three score of affluents. The Republican and Smoky Hill fork constitute the main branches of the Kansas. In the south the Rio Grande receives somewhat from the waters of San Luis park before starting on its long journey to the gulf of Mexico. The western slope is drained entirely by tributaries to the Rio

Colorado, as the West, the Grand, Gunnison, Rio Dolores, and Rio San Juan, which, as the names indicate, were discovered some by Spanish and some by American explorers.

The west side if less attractive to the settler is more so to the tourist, in its scenic wonders, among which rank foremost a series of cañons, where noble rivers rushing through rents in the solid mountains, thousands of feet in depth, have united with time and weather in producing carvings beyond the agency of human power, their wild imagery softened by blended tones of color in harmony with the sky, the purple-gray shadows, and the clinging moss and herbage. The grandest of these clefts is Black cañon, on Gunnison river, whose walls rise in places to a perpendicular height of 3,000 feet, through a table-land 9,800 feet above the sea. The gorge narrows at times to the width of the river, in gloomy grandeur, and broadens again into a park, marked by chutes and waterfalls, by fantastic rocks and needles of highly colored sandstone.

Although rivers are numerous the soil is arid. Many creeks run dry; others run in narrow beds, fringed with grass and bushes. Sloping up from them are stretches of rolling country sparsely covered with red spreading cedars, or a table-land with colonies of prairie dogs, and herds of buffalo and deer. In the mountains are meadows, with brooks covered by aspens, and marked by beaver dams. Trout streams exist and game is abundant, from elks and mountain sheep to bears and wild-cats. Forests of pine and fir, spruce and other trees, cover the ranges to a height of twelve thousand feet. At the western base of the Sierra Blanca are wastes of sand, and on the arid mesas of the south-east nothing but enormous cacti. Northward, and to the east and west, are grassy plains, gay with indigenous flora during their season.

In this altitude the rarified air draws up the moisture, while on the plains the excessive heat does its

share in bearing off humidity. Yet the nights are cool, so that the mean temperature in summer is about 67°, although the thermometer ranges often above 90°. In winter the mean is 32°, with occasional descents below zero. Then come at times fierce, driving snow-storms, corresponding to the suffocating sand gales of the plains during summer.

The rainfall averages about nineteen inches. The snow-banks of the ranges remain until late in the spring to feed the streams. Water is alone needed to transform the dry tracts into blooming fields, for the soil is deep and rich, and grazing lands abound on either slope.

The chief wealth of the country lies in its rocks, hidden in a confused geological structure. The younger world in Colorado has been resentfully pushed aside, and overflowed by the older in so rude and violent a manner as to dislocate all strata. Gold gave the clue to find silver, with which vie the more substantial coal and iron, pregnant with great possibilities.

Here, on the shore of a primeval lake, on the west of the San Juan mountains, lived an aboriginal race, in hive-like dwellings of unhewn stone, wherein water-jars, arrow-heads, and other implements testify to a certain advance in useful arts. These dwellings are situated in the face of the cliffs, far above the present valley bottom; yet the waters may at that period have reached close to their foundation. Another supposition is that the houses were so located for safety.

Like the pueblos of New Mexico, these peaceful house-dwellers were perchance the prey of the roaming Indians who have so long been the terror of the plains. The Utes extend in several divisions over this region, from New Mexico along the west slope of Colorado into Utah, and to the foot of the Sierra Nevada. The tribes of the northwest part, always wild and shy, though warlike, were in frequent con-

flict with their hereditary enemies on the Platte. On the other side of San Juan, below the Arkansas, roam still the dreaded robbers of the plains, the Comanches and Apaches.

The aridity and barrenness of the soil, and the abundance of game, particularly buffaloes, naturally directed the aborigines to a nomad life; hence grew here a love for hunting, adventure, and warlike deeds. Tribal raids and contests were frequent. The advent of white men added fresh objects for predatory expeditions, and for the tomahawk.

Their inhospitable attitude, together with the mountain barriers and remoteness of the land, tended to check the advance of the Spaniards, who, in 1540, penetrated to this border. The chief deterrent was the failure to find in New Mexico the rumored gilded cities, or the clue which later opened the golden mountains of Colorado. And so for over two centuries they were left to their isolation, vaguely embraced in the domain now of Spain, anon of France, to be finally surrendered, in 1819, to the United States, as far as the Arkansas. The portion south of this river fell to Mexico when she wrested independence from Spain. Her settlers in New Mexico gradually crept up into San Luis park, and westward. Above them entered trappers from the states, to tempt the redman to a conciliatory attitude, and even to coöperation in the chase, by insidious offers of fire-water, tobacco, and other amenities of Caucasian culture. The game preserve was soon exhausted, however, and in the forties the forts, which had risen during the preceding decade, declined to mere breastworks for the defence of hunters, now transformed into colonists, under the potent influence of Mexican and Indian wives, and half-breed families.

Precautions for defence were necessary, for the luxuries and trinkets of white men had by this time become doubly endeared to the native. With less desirable means than of yore to buy them, he conceived

the simpler method of taking them by force. To this end, he scrupled not to swoop down on peaceful settlers, quieting his conscience with the plea of their unauthorized intrusion and his own ancestral rights to the soil and its products. Hence, also, he hovered like a carrion bird along the path of the broadening column of migration westward, intimidating the caravans into payment of tolls, and cutting off incautious stragglers to feed his thirst for spoils and blood.

The United States had acquired the mountain region chiefly as a pathway to her prospective Pacific empire; for the reports of explorers had condemned it as an arid waste, and inscribed it on the maps as the Great American desert. The California currents of migration, which skirted the northern border of Colorado, and crossed the southeastern corner, began to dispel this erroneous idea on testing the nutritious herbage of the plains, and revelling in the grassy bottoms of the Platte and parallel streams; but remoteness, and the attitude of the aborigines served as a bar to occupation.

The revelations of El Dorado directed the search for gold to other territories; and stimulated by the revived rumors of former discoveries, prospectors found in Colorado indications which, in 1858, led to opening of regular placers. Although these were still of small importance, traders and town-lot speculators, excited by the turn of events on the Pacific, availed themselves of every trifle to spread exaggerated notices in the east. A fever set in, and Colorado received an influx of fortune-hunters exceeding in magnitude that of California. The natural result of inflated hopes was bitter disappointment to the larger portion, and back they rushed, launching hot invectives alike on the country and on its eulogizers.

Nearly forty thousand remained, however, to be rewarded after diligent search by the unfolding of diggings which, in many localities, equalled the richest spots in California. This brought a reflux of the cur-

rent, under whose influence the production of gold was gradually raised to over seven millions a year. Camps rose in every direction, especially along the headwaters of the Platte, centring round the town founded by observant real estate men.

Traffic grew to large proportions, with thousands of wagons lining the highways from the east, along the Platte, the Smoky Hill fork, and the Arkansas, tended by a freighting force which in time numbered ten thousand men. This intermediate stage of progress was soon supplanted on its main avenues by railways, which, entering from the plains, climbed the cloud enfolded passes to camps and towns situated over ten thousand feet above the sea. Leadville, which lies at an elevation of 10,025 feet, is one of the loftiest towns of importance in the world. Alma, Kokomo, Montezuma, Oro, and St John are still higher. The Present Help mine, on Mount Lincoln, is placed at 14,000 feet.

Coal-mines, saw-mills, iron-works, and other manufacturing enterprises, felt the impulse of the demand, and rapidly developed, feeding thousands of busy workers, while contributing their quota of aid to the parental trunk. The largest of its branches represented agriculture. Farmers entered with such zeal into competition with importers to provide food staples, that the country was made self-sustaining in this direction by 1866. It would have become so earlier but for its extreme dryness. Irrigation was now employed, which doubled, as well as assured, crops. Thus was gradually obliterated the repelling term of desert; soil once assumed to be sterile blossomed into fields and gardens, and farming became one of the most thriving industries. Although the long and costly transportation to outside markets restricted traffic almost exclusively to home consumption, a profitable outlet presented itself to stock-raisers, who found in the plains and slopes, with their nutritious pastures and numerous streams, the finest range for cattle and

sheep, so much so that their industry came to occupy the second rank in the state, with about 1,000,000 head of cattle, and 1,500,000 sheep, which sustain not alone a steady export of live-stock, but furnish material for packing and canning meat for reserve shipments. Thus was the wilderness transformed as the white man supplanted the red, and as domestic animals fed in the pastures occupied by the buffalo.

Miners for the first years worked at random. The placers were not lasting. By 1867 the yield had fallen to less than two million dollars, a large number of miners going away to the more promising fields of Montana, Idaho, and Nevada, leaving Colorado in a most depressed condition, to which the civil war with attendant fear of confederate invasion and Indian hostility added their quota. The gold was but the frothing of the silver beds beneath, and these were ignorantly passed over until the experience of Nevada and the commendations of experts disclosed the secret. A fresh rush ensued, partly to relocate rejected claims. A difficulty intervened, however, in the refractory character of the ore for which ordinary methods of reduction proved unavailing. After long, costly, and mostly fruitless experiments, recourse was had to Europe, and thence were brought processes which achieved success. Now followed rapid development. By 1870 the production had once more risen to $5,000,000, and this improved, particularly after the unfolding of Leadville, until the maximum was reached in 1882. The subsequent decline was arrested in 1886, when the yield again began to rise, with a total of nearly $26,000,000. To the output in 1882 Lake county alone contributed $16,000,000. Gilpin county had for several years averaged $2,000,000, and Ouray figured in 1884 with $4,000,000, the assay from select ores reaching as much as $4,000 and $7,000 per ton, according to the admixture of gold.

Each step in advance by the pioneer miner in-

volved an inroad upon the aborigines, to whom congress had in the fifties, prior to the disclosure of mineral wealth, granted the best part of the slopes for reservations. The consequent ill-feeling found alarming vent during the civil war, when the Indians thought the moment opportune to conspire and drive out the intruders. The uprising began with a series of outrages, so alarming as to prompt the settlers to energetic steps. This served to check the danger, and after 1868 Colorado was relieved from further attack on the east side. On the west slope one additional outbreak took place, which resulted in the despatch of several tribes to reservations in the adjoining territories, and the distribution of land in severalty, together with aid for establishing farms and annuities until they should have been taught to become self-supporting.

Thus was overcome one obstacle after another, in wringing their secrets from the rocks, in reclaiming deserts, and in suppressing the lords aboriginal. Meanwhile the new masters fell to quarreling among themselves. Colorado was situated on a strip wherein met the borders of five territories, each of which might have entered to claim jurisdiction. The earliest important settlements lay within the lines of Kansas, and to her a number of occupants appealed, moved by the sympathy of recent connection. Kansas was herself torn at this time by the agitation of slave and free-soil advocates, and legislature and governor issued conflicting orders for the administration of the new section. This encouraged a more ambitious portion of the community, intent on the spoils of office, and on power, to petition congress for independent territorial rights. Although no attention was paid to the request, the politicians presumed in 1860 to organize a territory, and appoint a governor and officials. Absorbed in acquiring wealth the self-reliant miners gave little heed to these political efforts, but framed rules among themselves for the regulation of mine and camp.

Thus existed three political parties and governments, each ignoring the other, and contributing only for the maintenance of their respective authorities. This chaotic condition, due partly to the instability of the population, and the objection to tax collectors, brought forward a fourth power, in vigilance committees. Presuming on the absence of formal authorities, robbers and squatters had raised their hands so menacingly as to oblige citizens in self-defence to resort to severe measures.

In 1861 congress lifted them out of the dilemma by creating Colorado a territory. The harmony thus introduced among the wrangling parties was opportune; for now, with the beginning of civil war, an aggressive faction arose, hesitating at no act that might promote its cause. While the solid citizens in general sought to conciliate the lukewarm majority of their opponents by prudent and liberal enactments, the governor quietly enrolled a force with which he swooped down upon the disaffected, and dispersed them. The stroke secured peace to the territory and control to the victors, while the enlisted troops served to check the uprising of the Indians.

A friendly struggle then arose between the leading cities for the coveted dignity of capital. The south assisted Pueblo in wresting it from the north, and interior towns here made a stand against conceding it to Denver, which to them seemed an all-absorbing ogre. The energy and enterprise of the latter, however, in securing traffic, and in becoming the railway centre, sustained its influence, and gave it such ascendancy as to finally win back the prize which for a time had passed away to rivals.

The agitation for statehood had been early mooted by interested aspirants, and in 1865 they framed a constitution and elected a governor and senators, prevailing on congress to recognize the step; but the president interposed a veto, and not till 1876 was the privilege accorded, timed for the centennial celebra-

tion. The state entered on its new existence with a population of one hundred and thirty-five thousand, free from debt, and with a wise and honest management of its interests; the land grants being especially cared for, in a manner worthy of wide imitation, and institutions being sustained by a direct tax so as to lessen the jobbery connected with appropriations.

Notwithstanding the strife for office, the rulers and principal officials have generally been men of superior character and ability, whose administration stands marked by prudence and integrity. The state has been represented in the United States senate by men of wealth, which fact, however, has been rather to her advantage than otherwise, as they have generally been men of strong individuality. There has been sharp and sometimes severe criticisms regarding the use of money in politics, monopoly of land, irrigating canals, railways, and other important industries, but I fail to find greater ground for adverse criticism here than elsewhere. The much-abused cry of monopoly has caused the concentration of the working classes, who through the channel of trades unions have sought to force a compliance with their wishes. Strikes have been not infrequent here as in other states, involving the calling out of the militia.

The silver era may have entered upon its decline, but other more substantial resources are fast unfolding to create another glorious era for the state, as foreshadowed in the vast coal and iron deposits of a high grade. The beautiful valleys and fertilized plains beckon immigrants to Arcadian repose, and invite to their balmy mountain air the sufferers of the malarial lowlands. Colonies are forming to further develop the scientific agriculture fostered by irrigation, and sustained by ever growing home consumption. Railways are expanding to bring additional markets to miners, as well as farmers, and manufacturers. Enterprise pervades all classes, associated with a general and high intelligence, upheld by an excep-

tionally large proportion of college-bred men, who set an example in a liberal patronage of literature and arts. Without blemish this young commonwealth stands forth a bright illustration of mental, moral, and physical progress remarkable for so brief a period of growth.

In glancing over the pages of Colorado's history, I find it not altogether easy, where there are so many notable and worthy participants in her progress, to select such as may best embody the ideas and characteristics of the others as a whole. There are certain individuals, however, whose lives are destined forever to stand conspicuous over all, because their life is the life of the nation which they have made, their spirit the spirit of the mountains and plains which through their aid and direction are alive with intelligence and industry.

There are men who, in the universality of their genius, appear to every age and every individual as of their own time and place. Such a man, for instance, was Plato, who had so absorbed all knowledge that in the annals of mankind one epoch was the same to him as another. All that the world before him had known he knew. He went to Italy to hear Pythagoras, but left more than he brought away; and but for the premature hemlock he would have been teaching his master Socrates. His genius swept over all the earth, penetrated the eternal hills, and played with the stars. All science, all philosophy, all history, were his.

We have as yet no American Athens, though there have been pretensions advanced in that direction; among other cities, Denver, located, as she is, almost in the heart of the continent, might present strong claims to that distinction.

High in the heavens she stands, with many an Olympus near; there are men of taste and learning within her borders, and her temples and schools are surpassed by none. Moreover, among her builders,

she is not without philosophers, who, if they need religion, make one, or if a government, formulate one; who, if they lack incident, fall back on inspiration, having always at hand that philosophy of philosophies which make men and nature its own.

Few of those whose forefathers came to America can boast of a more worshipful ancestry than William Gilpin, scholar, soldier, and sometime governor of Colorado.

For his devotion to Richard Cœur de Leon, whom at Austria on returning from his first crusade King John would have caused to be murdered, and for slaying a wild boar which infested the forests of Westmoreland and Cumberland, the baron of Kendal, in 1206, gave the manor of Kentmere to Richard de Guylpyn, a substantial commoner, whose original had come in with William the Conquerer. The earl of Kendal, who commanded at this most highly developed part of the old Roman colony, could not read or write; wherefore, on attending the convention which on the little island of Runymede in the Thames wrung from King John the magna charta, he took with him Guylpyn as his scholar, for which service, as well as for his other achievements, he was knighted.

Several Richards follow; and to the grandson of Sir Richard de Guylpyn, in 1268, in the time of Henry III., Peter de Bruys, who married a co-heiress of William de Lancaster, gave the manor of Ulwithwaite, so that the family had indeed vast possessions. Many have taken the grandson of Richard de Guylpyn of 1268, who was owner of the manors of Kentmere and Ulwithwaite, to be the first of the name. In the reign of Richard III. comes another Richard Gilpin, whose son William was slain in the battle of Bosworthfield, in 1485, during the civil wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, his brother Edwin thus becoming heir. George, the son of Edwin, was minister plenipotentiary for Queen Elizabeth at the Hague,

William Gilpin.

and was also eminent in letters. Another son of Edwin, Bernard Gilpin, called the Apostle of the North, was a very distinguished man. He was born at Kentmere in 1517, and died in 1583. Brought up a Roman catholic, he was made rector of Houghton; but before the death of Queen Mary he became satisfied with the doctrines of the Reformation.

Armored in the faith, midst the incessant strife of the time, he passed scathless. Once on entering Rothbury church, in Northumberland, he observed a glove suspended in a conspicuous place as a challenge from some horse-trooper of the district. Taking it down he entered the pulpit and began to preach. During the course of his sermon he paused, and, lifting the glove in his fingers, said: "I hear there is one among you who has even in this sacred place hung up a glove in defiance." Then flinging it to the floor, he continued, "I challenge him to compete with me in acts of Christian charity."

A charge of thirteen articles was drawn up against him, and complaint laid before the bishop of London, whereupon he prepared for martyrdom. One doctrine which he preached was that whatever happened was for the best. On his way to London he fell from his horse and broke his leg. The guard sneeringly inquired of him, "Call you this for the best?" "I doubt not it will so turn out," was the reply. He was taken to the Tower, there to await recovery from the accident. Mary meanwhile died, and he was set at liberty, whereupon he returned to Houghton. He was then offered by Elizabeth the See of Carlisle, which he declined, preferring to preach the Reformation and endow schools. Whenever he met a poor boy on the road he would put questions to him to test his natural ability, and if pleased therewith would provide for his education. A life of Bernard Gilpin, by William Gilpin, prebendary of Salisbury, was published, first in 1753, and again at Glasgow in 1824, in which are delineated his virtues and persecutions.

The Gilpin family had frequently to suffer on account of their religion.

"The race that once went bravely forth
To slay the wild boar in his den,
Now meets the bigots in their wrath,
And boldly claims the rights of men."

Next we have a William Gilpin who married Eliza Washington, sister to our American Washington's great grandmother. They had a son George who inherited the manor of Kentmere, two generations after whom the estate was lost during the parliamentary civil wars. Sawry Gilpin was a celebrated painter of horses, giving them a very fierce expression; he was born in 1733.

When Cromwell established the commonwealth of England and became the protector, Thomas Gilpin commanded the first regiment of Ironsides at the crowning victory at Worcester, which battle vanquished all opposition to Cromwell. The Gilpins were amongst the first to enlist with Cromwell, and they remained faithful to him until he died. During a visit to England our present William Gilpin found Charles Gilpin, a representative of Northampton in parliament for eighteen years, a member of the board of trade, and a commissioner of the public works in London.

Thomas Gilpin of Warborough, born in 1620, married Joan Bartholomew and had three sons, Joseph, Isaac, and Thomas. He was an officer in the army, and after the battle of Worcester in 1651, joined the society of friends. Persecutions followed. Meetings were held at his house, for which offence he was stripped of his household effects and thrown into prison. Joseph Gilpin, born in 1664, married Hannah Glover in 1691. They were quakers; and seeing how badly their people were treated by the government, emigrated with their two small children, in 1696, to America, having for their *companions de voyage* the ancestors of the Coats and Morris families,

and settling at Birmingham meeting-house on the Brandywine, in what is now Delaware county, Pennsylvania.

It was a frontier settlement, and the forest yet waved over the spot which was to be his future home. Each settler had his own work to do; wherefore for the shelter of his family Joseph Gilpin hollowed out a cave by the side of a rock, in some dry white clay, which for warmth and healthfulness was superior to many of the houses of his neighbors built above ground; and there he lived and reared his family of fifteen children. From Joseph Gilpin's second son, Samuel, sprang Thomas, born in 1728, whose first son, Joshua, born in Philadelphia in 1765, was father of our William Gilpin, who was the eighth and youngest child.

Before coming to America the Gilpins and others had built the little meeting-house in which William Penn preached, and their families intermarried afterward. When the Mason and Dixon line was later marked off, three states cornered in the Gilpin orchard. In generations following the first in America, log, frame, and brick houses were respectively built for the occupation of the Gilpins, and a residence in Philadelphia established.

Thomas Gilpin, the grandfather of our William Gilpin, engaged in farming and manufacturing; he was interested in science, and was one of the founders of the American philosophical society.

Joshua Gilpin, the father of William, was a man of no ordinary culture and ability, inheriting all the finish possessed by the quakers of Philadelphia during the era of their prosperity, when the whole power of the American people was centred there. Associating on equal terms with the most polished and learned men on both sides of the Atlantic, his society was sought by every one. It was his house that was Lafayette's headquarters at the battle of Brandywine. Between the years 1795 and 1801 he lived in Eng-

land and married an Englishwoman. Under many discouragements he urged to completion the canal which his father had projected. He was very fond of historical investigations, and of poetry, publishing in 1799, *Verses Written at the Fountain of Vaucluse;* in 1821, *Memoir on a Canal from the Chesapeake to the Delaware;* and in 1839, *Farm of Virgil and other Poems.* He died in Philadelphia in 1840.

His wife, Mary Dilworth, and William's mother, was the fit consort of such a man, beautiful, amiable, and accomplished. She was of quaker stock, her father, John Dilworth, being a banker at Lancaster. She was a conspicuous figure in the best society, in which were many charming men and women of good breeding, polish, and education; the Jeffersons, the Randolphs, the Franklins, the Washingtons, and others. Within their immediate neighborhood were nine signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The sympathies of the Gilpins were of course all with Washington, but being quakers they were non-combatants during the Revolutionary war. A flouring mill built by Thomas Gilpin, William's grandfather, is now called the Washington mill, having supplied Washington with flour while at Valley Forge. Of the large landed interest, consisting of several hundred thousands of acres, which the family possessed, five thousand acres finally fell to William, which he sold at five dollars an acre, investing the money in western Missouri, the rest having been cut up and scattered by sales and intermarriages.

It was into such an atmosphere as this that William Gilpin was born, on the 4th of October, 1822. Among his earliest recollections was the visit of Lafayette to his father's house on the anniversary of the battle of Brandywine, he being at that time just old enough to be carried on a horse behind his father. During his earlier childhood he was not sent to school, but was the pupil of his father. Among those from whom

he learned much was Lawrence Washington, whose home was at Mt Vernon. There was quite a French settlement on the Brandywine, among them the Dupont family, the famous powder manufacturers, Admiral Dupont being one.

William was very fond of history, poetry, and physical geography; he spoke French fluently at an early age. He was indeed a favored child of fortune, with his elegant surroundings and happy home, which overlooked the Delaware and the Brandywine, where the boats were constantly passing, and having Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey in sight. Being the youngest he was made much of by all. It was the custom of the Gilpins to make occasional visits among the prominent people, travelling in the family carriage, and on these trips they would always take William. And around their table all these friends would meet to eat Christmas dinner with Joshua Gilpin.

To complete their education and see more of the world, the Gilpin children were sent to Europe on arriving at proper age. So when he was twelve years old William's father took him over to Newcastle, and put him on board the ship *Montezuma*, bound for Liverpool, whose captain Joshua Gilpin well knew, the boy being consigned to the care of an elder brother, who was clerk in the quaker American house of Cropper and Benson. At Settle, in Yorkshire, was a foundation school, like Rugby, where but sixty pupils were admitted, and there William was placed, and remained two years. He studied mathematics and the languages, and had additional masters in Liverpool.

His purpose here being accomplished, after a visit to a brother who had been appointed by President Jackson American consul at Belfast, he returned to Philadelphia, where his father and brother Henry had a house and spent much of their time. He at once applied for admission to the junior class of the

university of Pennsylvania, among whose founders was his grandfather, and where three of his brothers had graduated. It was against the rules of the institution to admit advanced students without their taking the usual course, and the faculty at first refused him. "If they will not admit you tell them you shall go to Princeton," his father said. The faculty yielded; but the boy had to undergo his examination; and to this end he employed a tutor, who was the author Hawthorne, and studied night and day through the intervening ten weeks of vacation. At the beginning of the term he presented himself, was examined for three days, was admitted, and in two years graduated.

President Jackson, who was on intimate terms with the Gilpin family, had always taken a paternal interest in Joshua's boys, following them in their studies, and securing them places after their education was finished. On one occasion, in making a journey into New England, Jackson came to Newcastle in a steamer, and Joshua Gilpin went over to receive him there. When he entered the cabin Old Hickory immediately stepped forward, threw his arms around him, and said: "Here is a face I am delighted to see. Where is your son?" referring to William's eldest brother, Henry. "You should have brought him along; he is my son too." Henry was United States district attorney at Philadelphia, and was afterward appointed United States attorney general.

They were having much trouble about that time with the affairs of the United States bank, to which Henry had to give attention, and William was frequently sent to Washington with messages from the directors to General Jackson, who always greeted the youth most kindly with the endearing epithet "my son." Thus William had almost free access to the president's apartments, and when the youth made bold to ask a favor it was usually granted. Therefore when he expressed a desire to go to West Point, his wish being backed by the influence of his father

and brother, he had no difficulty in having his name placed in advance of the hundreds of other applicants.

At West Point William studied very hard. Meade and Montgomery Blair were his tutors. He spent much of his time in the library, and gave special attention to French and mathematics. On completing his course at West Point he went to Philadelphia. He was now eager for action. He had been educated almost to death by the brightest intellects in the world, and now he would try the metal of his own mind. For some time past he had read and thought much regarding the great unoccupied West, never losing an opportunity to converse with those familiar with the subject. Already military forces were on the frontier, stationed at various forts, at once to restrain and protect the Indians and prevent white men from illegally entering their territory. All this was thrilling romance to the young cadet. Some day he would go there; some day he would mingle with those scenes, and would stir up events which in their turn should yet more stir him up, and help him on to high emprise.

As there was no fighting at present to be done at home, it occurred to William to try his fortune abroad, and he accordingly slipped over to London. At that time a legion of ten thousand was forming in England for service in Spain, to fight against Don Cárlos and in favor of Isabella, and it was his idea to join this army, learn something of the Spanish language, and the mode of warfare practised there. His third brother was in London at the time, learning engineering, but was about ready to return home. He made application to Colonel Witherell, the recruiting agent for the army in London, and was told he could not get a commission; that the young nobility were applying for positions constantly, and that a mere youth, especially an American, had no chance. His father sustained agreeable personal relations with Lord Brougham, and he was making arrangements

to secure his indorsement and that of other friends in London, when the ship *Toronto* came into Southampton port from New York, after a thirteen days' voyage, the quickest sailing that had yet been made. This vessel brought news of the great fire in New York, and what was of greater importance, the outbreak of the Seminoles in Florida, and the massacre of Dade's command at Withlachooche. Plantations were being robbed right and left, and the negroes driven into the everglades in the interior. Here, indeed, was opportunity; the lad might now have some fighting. In company with his brother Richard he at once returned home, arriving in New York on the 4th of March, 1836. Without stopping to visit his parents in Philadelphia, lest they should endeavor to prevent his purposes, young Gilpin started for Washington. Having to remain over one night at Baltimore, he went on the railroad, which had just been opened, to see the president. On board the train was Blackhawk, the Indian chief who had been captured a short time previous, and was being taken as a present to Jackson. In riding over the bleak and sterile country between Baltimore and Washington, some one asked Blackhawk how he liked railroads. He had come from the Rock River country, a fertile and beautiful section, and the contrast was appalling to him. He replied, with an Indian grunt, "The Great Spirit give machine to these people to get 'um over this country quick."

Jackson had raised one regiment of dragoons, which was stationed at Leavenworth, and employed to protect the frontier, particularly to keep the whites out of the Indian country along the line of the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, and down to the gulf. The Oregon question and other matters began to be agitated, and the president was getting well through his struggle with the United States bank, and saw victory near at hand; so he raised a second regiment to go out into the Indian country where the first

regiment was stationed. The third regiment, organized later, took the name of the Oregon regiment, and these three regiments of cavalry, and two others, formed the government corps of our army. Another regiment of negroes has been added to it. The current of matters was so intense and impetuous then that it got the American people to thinking, and broke down the line of despotism. It was while this regiment was being formed by Harney in the west, that the Florida war commenced. Harney was at St Louis as paymaster, and Wharton Rector was in the army, and as each so desired, they exchanged, and Harney was put into William's regiment as major. Young Gilpin without difficulty obtained from the president a commission as 2d lieutenant in the 2d Dragoons, and was sent among the miners of Missouri to gather recruits.

This was in July 1836. The stalwart sons of Missouri regarded it as a joke that a boy like this should be sent to enlist them to fight the battles of their country. Nevertheless he continued his course, and after reporting himself at St Louis, he went up the Mississippi under Harney's direction. He was full of fire and life, and had dashed recklessly into the west. He liked Harney, and Harney was pleased with him. He remained recruiting until autumn of this year, when he received a letter at Louisville from Harney, containing an order from the president to collect all the recruits obtainable in the valley of the Mississippi, take them down to New Orleans, and get ready to join Jessup in Florida. This he did, remaining at New Orleans all winter in command of recruits, drilling and preparing them for service. The men were part of the force originally intended for the frontier, but while recruiting they were ordered to Florida, and thus all came together at New Orleans.

Albert Sidney Johnston was there on his way to join Sam Houston in Texas as his adjutant-general, and he afterward became general of the standing army

of Texas when Houston was made president. Twiggs came on from Washington and took Gilpin to St Louis, all in preparation for the Florida campaign. He was now assigned the position of first lieutenant in the company, and he asked General Gaines and General Atchison, who were there, to be sent to Florida to join his company, which had been sent forward from New York. This was done early in the summer of 1838.

There was a post within twelve miles of St Augustine, in the woods, and General Hernandez, a Mexican, under whom Gilpin found himself, kept him constantly scouting. During these scouts Osceola, Coacooche, Blue Snake, and other prominent Seminole chiefs were captured. They had been scattered about with their families, and had swept a vast number of negroes down into their country, and these black men were constantly escaping and giving information as to where a certain notorious family or band of savages could be found. Presently General Jessup came up with the main army; likewise Belknap, the general of artillery; and Twiggs came down by land through Nashville. In the mean time Gilpin had become master of the situation, owing to the scouting expeditions he had made, and during which he had studied the country very carefully. There were skirmishes every week, and sometimes every day. It was in the region of cypress swamps, grass lakes, alligators, and all kinds of things curious to the young northerner. When Jessup arrived and took command of the army, and the weather became cold enough to open the winter campaign, he placed Gilpin and his men near him, and the result was that during all the rest of the war the young man was in active service day and night under Jessup's orders. Finally Taylor appeared on the gulf side, and fought the Indians below the Okechobee, while Jessup pressed them from the north and scattered them into the everglades. The few that could not get out were allowed to remain on condition that they would never

cross a line drawn from Charlotte's harbor to Indian river.

Steamers then came for the troops, and Gilpin was sent with five or six hundred horses over to Fort Melon, where supplies had accumulated. Meanwhile Van Buren had come into power and Mr Calhoun now looked after these matters; and his object had been accomplished when money enough had been spent to secure a southern state to counteract the admission of Michigan, a non-slaveholding state. And even now, instead of being sent to renew exploration in the west, the whole force was dismounted and turned into a rifle regiment, and sent to Jessup to watch negroes for Calhoun. Not caring for such occupation, and unwilling to have his hopes thus blasted, Gilpin proceeded to Washington and requested Mr Van Buren to either give him a company of explorers, that he might undertake investigations throughout the continent to the Columbia river, which region the United States laid claim to, or to give him leave of absence for two or three years that he might make a journey on his own responsibility. Moreover he did not like Twiggs. But Van Buren refused, saying it was against the policy of his administration to have any outbreak or agitation toward the central west. There was filibustering in Cuba and in Central America; there had been trouble in Florida, and he wanted no excitement among the savages in the direction of the Pacific. He informed Gilpin that if he did not like the officers of his regiment, there was forming the 8th regiment of infantry, to which he could be transferred and promoted. Gilpin had brought with him his commission in his breast pocket, knowing beforehand that nothing could be done with Van Buren, and he now asked the president to accept his resignation, which was done. Nevertheless he was greatly disappointed, and said: "This breaks my life in two; what is left of it I will take into my own hands."

He returned to Missouri and resumed civil life, locating himself at St Louis, where he took charge of the *Missouri Argus*, conducting it for twelve months during an election campaign. The reëlection of Benton and Lynn to the senate was the issue of the hour, and their interests were regarded as in jeopardy. Under its former management the *Argus* had broken down, and as Gilpin was a young man, and mentally and physically vigorous, he was deemed a proper person to place in charge of the paper. The opposition brought Webster to St Louis, and he made a telling speech, saying that in his opinion the vote of the coming presidential campaign turned on the election in Missouri, and that it was essential to get Benton out of the way. It was a desperate fight. St Louis was the focal point where all the political rabble from New Orleans and elsewhere gathered themselves, and they were now holding here violent conventions. This inflammable element went up the river to Keokuk, Rocheport, Cincinnati, and Nashville, lighting the fires of spurious patriotism. But the party fought its way through, and carried the state legislature by 139 votes for the reëlection of Benton and Lynn.

Gilpin was thereupon made secretary of the general assembly of the state of Missouri. Sterling Price was speaker. In their measures they put a saving clause which prevented any effort toward reconstructing the United States bank, and the independent treasury system was brought forward and established by Van Buren. Yet Gilpin saw that nothing could be done in the direction he desired, in view of the change of politics; so that after his duties as secretary of the general assembly were over he determined to give his time to exploration, as there existed everywhere a lamentable ignorance of the western country. What shall we say when so astute a statesman as Daniel Webster, at the close of a speech on the floor of the United States senate, denouncing a proposition to establish a mail route from Independence, Mis-

souri, to the mouth of the Columbia, breaks forth: "What do we want with this vast, worthless area? This region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, or those endless mountain ranges, impenetrable and covered to their very base with eternal snow? What can we ever hope to do with the western coast, a coast of 3,000 miles, rock-bound, cheerless, uninviting, and not a harbor on it? What use have we for such a country? Mr President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer to Boston than it now is."

Gilpin knew better than this, and he would know more. But first he would settle himself somewhere and declare his profession. He had entered his name as student of law, with his brother, in Philadelphia, and on determining to make his home in the west he had gone before Strong, judge of the eastern district of Pennsylvania, where he was examined and admitted to practice, and he had brought with him his commission.

During his editorship of the *Missouri Argus* Gilpin made many hearty enemies in St Louis and elsewhere, owing to the political bitterness which prevailed during the campaign which resulted in the election of Benton and Lynn; and while holding the office of secretary of the general assembly he went constantly armed and always on the lookout for an assault. Two indictments were found against him in St Louis, but Governor Reynolds said, "Give yourself no uneasiness on that score, for whatever they do I have always your pardon written out." Gilpin read one morning, at Jefferson City, a copy of a notice which had been posted up on the steps of the court-house at St Louis, to the effect that if he returned to St Louis he would be killed at sight. It was signed by a man named Grimsey, a well-known political boss and a bully.

The session having closed, it became Gilpin's duty to take the manuscript of the laws, which had been revised, to the state printer at Cape Girardo. He at once started for that point via St Louis. He arrived in the latter city at midnight, and on the following morning, while passing along the street, he was approached by the man Grimsey, a large, powerful fellow, who was carrying a heavy club. Gilpin at that time weighed 145 pounds, but he was lithe and active, and his physical training had been excellent. He carried in his hand a stout hickory stick which he used to good advantage; for before the bully could strike, Gilpin had, with a blow of his stick, disarmed his antagonist, and was raining down blows upon his head. The stick split, but Gilpin kept on, each blow cutting to the bone, until the bully was dripping in his own blood. The combat occupied not more than two minutes, and resulted in Grimsey being completely vanquished. After this Gilpin proceeded to Cape Girardo and transacted his business with the state printer. Grimsey's chastisement effected a total reformation in his character, and he lived an exemplary life for the rest of his days.

Jackson and Clay counties were directly opposite one another, and abutting against the Indian territory; they had been named at the time of the memorable battle between Clay and Jackson for the presidency. Clay county on the north had been settled principally by Kentuckians, while Jackson county on the south was populated by Tennesseans. Lieutenant Gilpin finally located himself at Independence, the county seat of Jackson county, a few miles below where Kansas City now is, where he entered into the practice of the law. His brother had presented him with a set of United States supreme court reports upon his departure for the west, and these formed the nucleus of his library. The land between the town-site and the river he secured, and built thereon a cabin, in which he at times lived. The spot was isolated, the only

commerce being that conducted by means of wagon-trains which passed over the mountains into Mexican territory, but its remoteness from the civilized east was counterbalanced by its proximity to that vast unexplored region of which he had so long dreamed, and he was content to remain there that he might associate with those adventurous men who were trading, hunting, or trapping in the territory he was determined to explore, and from them derive information as to climate and topography which would be of benefit to him on his projected journey. He talked with Kit Carson and others from the wilderness who came in and passed through Independence almost every summer.

Neither his law practice nor his agricultural pursuits proved remunerative. He managed however to earn enough to live upon, but that was all. In 1842 a party of New Mexican traders having in their possession $60,000 in silver coin, with which they intended to purchase goods, was expected to arrive in Independence. A few of their number, who came into town in advance of the main party, brought the news that a band of robbers had gone out to get this money, and requested that assistance should be sent. Ten men under Lieutenant Gilpin were furnished provisions and transportation, and they started off. Unfortunately the robbers were successful in their design. Only the hair of Manuel Chaves, the chief trader, who had charge of the money, was found, the body having been devoured by wolves. The robbers returned to Independence and thence to Kansas City, where they were arrested, taken to St Louis, and four of them hanged. Independence remained Lieutenant Gilpin's nominal residence for twenty years, from 1841 to 1861, though he was at various times absent upon exploring expeditions.

His next expedition, in which he made his way to the Pacific Ocean, near Astoria, was begun in June

1843. By selling his library, and in various other ways, he secured a little money with which to purchase an outfit. His first purchase was a saddle-horse for $95. He then bought a yaager rifle, blankets, and the various paraphernalia requisite to an extended journey through the wilderness. Yet he needed more money, and an acquaintance, who was soon to be married to an intimate friend of his, loaned him a hundred dollars. He was now ready to start, having as an outfit, and in addition to his saddle-horse, rifle, and small-arms, a pack-mule that carried his camping utensils. The people evinced very decided opposition to his going thus alone far into the Indian country, and used every argument to dissuade him from his purpose, but without avail. After mounting and starting out the pack-mule broke away from him, lost the pack, and returned to town. Again he had to pass through the ordeal of his friends, but he remained firm of purpose, and the second start proved successful.

Fremont had been ordered, about this time, to make a summer expedition to the mountains and return, and a party of Scotchmen were also intending to make a hunting trip to the South pass and return; but Gilpin's objective point was the mouth of the Columbia. He went into camp the first evening, out about thirty miles, at a spot called the Lone Elm, David Waldo, the man who had loaned him the money, accompanying him thus far. He found encamped in this vicinity a few men whom he did not at first recognize, but to his surprise they proved to be the party of Fremont. The immortal pathfinder asked Gilpin where he was going, and was told. He expressed astonishment, and said: "Why, even with my whole force I do not consider myself safe from massacre to-morrow; now if you are determined to go on, throw your pack into one of my *charettes*, turn your mule into my band, and let me have the reënforcement of your horse and rifle." This arrangement was highly

satisfactory to Gilpin, as it afforded him companionship and protection for a long distance.

The party proceeded up the Kansas river, from the head of the Kansas over to the Platte, and followed up the Platte to the St Vrain fork. That being the boundary line and all beyond hostile, they remained there for some time, sending to Bent's fort for some hunters and fresh horses. Fremont's orders from the secretary of war were to make a line of survey to Walla Walla; and this he did, reaching there about the middle of October. During the journey Fremont would occasionally leave the party and make little detours for the purpose of investigation, and Lieutenant Gilpin also followed this practice, thereby adding much to his knowledge of the topography of the country. In one of these excursions Fremont arrived at Walla Walla some days before the rest of the party, and at once proceeded to Vancouver for supplies for his return journey.

When Gilpin arrived at Walla Walla, he learned of Fremont's departure for Vancouver, and also that he had left his men in camp at the upper Dalles. From Walla Walla he proceeded to the upper Dalles, where he met an Irishman named Dougherty, a Welshman named Owen, and an American named Campbell, the latter a young man of good parts and pleasant bearing. Archibald McKinley had charge of the fort at that point, and of him Gilpin procured some horse meat, potatoes, and some green tea which had once been used; also exchanging his pack-mule, Kitty, for a log canoe, and leaving his horse with McKinley. They embarked in the canoe, which was guided by an Indian pilot, and had an enjoyable trip down the river, though at times being in danger from the savages who were fishing along the bank, until they arrived safely at the lower Dalles, where Fremont had left his camp in charge of Kit Carson. Three days later Fremont returned with five canoes loaded with supplies for his homeward journey. During the

following night Gilpin's canoe was stolen by the Indians. Fremont had previously exhausted all his eloquence in endeavoring to induce Gilpin to remain with the party, but without avail. Fremont now turned over to Gilpin the five canoes to take back to McLoughlin at Vancouver.

Arriving at that point he was welcomed with great hospitality by McLoughlin and the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and here he remained some two months, one of a congenial party that gathered at Vancouver, consisting of McLoughlin, Douglas, Ogden, McTavish, and the traders who happened to come in. It was customary for them to dine together, either with McLoughlin or Douglas, and during his stay there Lieutenant Gilpin was very assiduous in acquiring as much knowledge as he could regarding the country, its resources, and the condition of affairs, and from his unrestrained intercourse with these people he learned much that was desirable to know. Often he would sit at dinner until ten o'clock at night, in conversation with some intelligent traveller.

Finally the fur magnates decided that Gilpin knew too much for the interests of the great game preserve, and they endeavored to get him out of the country by one of their ships then lying in the river, and bound for the Sandwich islands. Of this earthly paradise they gave Gilpin the most glowing accounts, putting before him the advantage such a voyage would be to him, and offering him letters of introduction to Sir Hugh Pelley, and transportation to London, all at the expense of the Hudson's Bay Company. Finally the captain of this vessel, a shrewd Scotchman, invited Gilpin, and his most agreeable young friend Campbell, on board his vessel to dine with him. He introduced to them his best cabin, and told them that this should be their home as long as they desired. They sat down to dinner and enjoyed the appetizing efforts of an excellent cook, and also drank freely of

wine which the captain generously set forth, with occasional potations of brandy. During the evening the captain and young Campbell succumbed to the influences of good cheer, and made themselves comfortable in corners of the cabin. Gilpin, but little inconvenienced by the fiery potations, after breakfasting on a tender, well-cooked duck, went ashore just after daylight and was met by Douglas, who seemed surprised at his quick return from the ship. The idea of these whole-soul and hospitable men had been to detain him on board the vessel until she could get to sea, and then rid themselves of one whose pronounced views and aggressive nature presaged disastrous antagonism. But in this they signally failed.

From Vancouver Gilpin proceeded up the Willamette river to Oregon City. Scarcely had he arrived there when three Indians came into town and shot and killed three young Americans with poisoned arrows. Excitement ran high, and a few of the people gathered to see what measures could be taken to insure self-protection. There were various matters needing attention, everything political being at loose ends. It was decided to hold a convention on the succeeding 4th of March, for the purpose of organizing some sort of a provisional government, and securing recognition from the United States. Doctor White was appointed to represent the Americans, Douglas to represent the English, and Lieutenant Gilpin to represent the western and Rocky mountain population, and these men were to bring about this convention. Douglas refused to serve, as it would interfere with his position with the English government. White refused for the same reason, that it would compromise him; and it was concluded that Gilpin should do what he could. He procured a guide, Joe Meek, and together they proceeded up the Willamette to the chief settlement, within about twelve miles of Salem, where there was a catholic mission.

The object was to notify the settlers of the proposed convention, and to induce every one to be present. Gilpin then went to Vancouver, and again endeavored to enlist McLoughlin and Douglas in the movement; after much discussion it was agreed that the attendants at this convention should unite as people of the Pacific coast, and without reference to any existing government. In the mean time a brief schedule of a provisional government was drawn up, which provided for an executive committee of three, for magistrates who should hold courts, and for constables; and finally for a committee in charge of this executive committee, to be finally chosen by them, to be ready to afford any assistance that they might be able to give, should any difficulty occur. Blubber Smith was made chairman, and two Canadians were vice-presidents. The schedule was adopted, and served its purpose until the territory became stronger. Lieutenant Gilpin drew up with great care a petition to the government of the United States, requesting, in the same vigorous language used by our grandfathers in the declaration of independence, that notice should be taken of the exposed condition of the people, flanked by the open sea where the fleets of the world could come in, surrounded by savages, with nothing to live upon, and harassed in many ways by reason of British authority.

When the meeting was about to adjourn *sine die*, Doctor White presented the petition for the consideration of the assemblage. The chairman at first objected to have anything to do with foreign affairs, but consented that it should be read, and after hearing its contents, he unhesitatingly put his name to it; the two vice-presidents, who could not read or write, then made their marks, which were duly witnessed, and then the others signed. Thus was Lieutenant Gilpin appointed an agent of the people to lay the petition before the president of the United States. The petition further stated that though Oregon thus far had produced

nothing of value to the United States, yet with a little help, it would become an important factor in the government.

Up to this time Gilpin had not been able to proceed west farther than the mouth of the Willamette, and he now determined that he would see the Pacific ocean without further delay. He procured a yawl with a single mast and a sheet for a sail, and then as a crew he took in a sprightly young sailor boy, a Missouri man named Chappel, and one Doc Newell. They rowed down the Willamette and out into the Columbia. After proceeding a short distance down the Columbia, it was noticed that they were not making much headway, and Gilpin suggested that they should go ashore and wait until the tide changed in their favor. At this Newell turned pale, and asked if the sea was really strong enough to take anything up stream. To prove it to him, Gilpin threw out some hay, which floated up past a snag, and caught thereon, much to the discomfiture of Newell. "When I find myself in a country where water runs up stream," he said, "I want to get out of it; it is no place for an Ohio man."

"I am going to the ocean," said Gilpin, "and you must help me get there," at the same time guiding the boat out into the middle of the stream to prevent Newell from jumping ashore. The country was a savage wilderness, and should he be put ashore, he would probably starve to death or be killed by Indians. But Newell said that he had a wife and children at home; and so strong was his belief that sure destruction awaited a man who was rash enough to venture nearer to any such terrible body of water, that after about an hour spent in trying to convince him of his folly, they finally placed him on shore and rowed away. At a saw-mill, a few miles farther down, they procured a Nez Perces Indian to take the place of Newell.

When they reached the wide bay inside of Tongue

point, the waves were running high, and the wind blowing furiously. The remainder of the passage promised to be extremely hazardous. In rounding the point Gilpin had the men lie down flat in the boat, while he took the sail and rudder and picked his way along shore, sometimes barely grazing the rocks; but after getting into the open channel, he had a fair wind down to Astoria, or Fort George, where the party was warmly greeted by the commander, who with his people had been watching the dangerous course of the boat, and wondering who its occupants could be. The following day Gilpin set out to make the last stage of his westward journey to the shores of the Pacific. Dense forests and almost impenetrable swamps had to be traversed, and the only guide procurable was a young Indian girl. They landed in the afternoon, and started into the woods to cross over to the beach. Soon darkness set in, and the situation became more depressing when their guide made the announcement, in her own terse manner, that she had lost the trail. Nothing further could be done until morning. Gilpin, after some difficulty, succeeded in starting a small fire, with the aid of a flint, and they remained there until daylight, though none of them slept. When morning came the trail was found, and in a short time they emerged upon Clatsop beach. Thus the great object of the journey from Jackson county had been accomplished.

Gilpin took a plunge in the sea, and was then ready to retrace his steps. Among other curiosities on the beach, they found the skeleton of a whale, some forty-five feet long. The return journey to Astoria, and thence to Vancouver, was soon made, without special adventure. Arriving there, Gilpin applied to McLoughlin for assistance to return home. The fur magnate placed at his service a canoe and five Indians, with provisions, consisting of cured pork, which was scarce and expensive, and other articles of food, and on the 10th of April, 1844, he left Vancouver.

Arriving at the upper Dalles he exchanged his five Indians and one canoe for one Indian and five horses, swam the river below the Dalles, proceeded 250 miles through Washington territory, and recrossed at Walla Walla, where he was left alone. There he was obliged to wait for the annual brigade of supplies for Fort Hall, 900 miles distant, as it was not safe to make the journey alone. He found his horse safe; and when the brigade arrived under the command of Major Grant, he accompanied it as far as Fort Hall. Fort Bridger was the next objective point, and that was 300 miles farther on. At Fort Hall he met Peg-leg Smith, a powerful man, turbulent and tough, rude in manner, but of wonderful nerve and courage.

While out on the plains with a wagon-train of supplies intended for Bent's fort, he was accidentally thrown from his wagon, and the heavy vehicle passed over his leg, crushing the bone below the knee, rendering amputation necessary. There was no physician within hundreds of miles, and he feared mortification would set in and consequent loss of life. Whereupon he made a saw from his butcher-knife, built a fire and heated a bolt from a wagon, and then cut the flesh to the bone, sawed the leg off, and drawing the flesh down over the wound he took the heated bolt and seared it over to prevent bleeding. This is not the only instance of similar heroism under the pressure of inexorable necessity.

This man had come to Fort Hall for powder, and Gilpin proposed to him that they should make the trip to Fort Bridger in company, to which Smith agreed. They could get no meat at Fort Hall, and the first night out they spent at Ross fork, with nothing to eat, and as a consequence were nearly famished. They accidentally killed a ground-hog and tried to eat it, but could not. The next day, the 3d of July, they started down the Point Neuf river, and were fortunate enough to shoot an antelope. They celebrated the 4th of July at Soda springs by eating antelope

and drinking soda-water, and were then ready to resume their journey to Fort Bridger. Arriving there, Gilpin engaged a young Mexican boy as his guide, and together they proceeded over the Uintah mountains, and down to the Grand river of the west, which they crossed, coming out upon the old Spanish trail used by Californians to drive their cattle from Los Angeles to San Antonio, Texas. Turning to the left as they entered this trail they soon parted from the Grand river. Once they camped on the banks of a small muddy stream, and had hardly unpacked when their horses galloped off, and joined others which soon appeared in sight. Investigation showed that there was an Indian camp close by. By this time Gilpin had learned to be a better Indian than the Indians themselves; yet it was only by his coolness and bravery under the most trying circumstances that he escaped with his life on this occasion. He held a long conference with the Indians that evening, and another in the morning, during which he distributed a few trifling presents among them, and on the latter occasion extreme measures were advocated by one of the chiefs; but by his very audacity Gilpin and his guide were permitted to depart unharmed. He rode thirty-eight miles that day, crossing the Rio Grande toward evening. After that he encountered no more savages, although he was obliged to be constantly on his guard. Sometimes a week would elapse without a gun being discharged, and at other times he would not dare to light a fire. Passing through San Luis park he reached Bent's fort, and from that point took the wagon-road to Independence.

Arriving at the state line he found that the presidential election of 1844 was being held. On learning who were the candidates he at once voted for Polk. Although his vote was at first challenged, it was afterwards taken, Gilpin claiming that if he had not been residing in Missouri for some time past, he had not resided anywhere else. Arrived at Jefferson

City he was immediately tendered his old appointment, that of secretary of the general assembly of Missouri, then in session, and which he accepted. The fame of his travels spread abroad, and he attracted much attention, letters pouring in upon him from all parts of the United States. The Oregon and Texas platforms had brought into existence the fundamental elements of the great army of pioneers, and they naturally turned to this young man who had traversed so much of the western territory.

In the spring of 1845, after the legislature had adjourned and about the time Polk was inaugurated, he made a visit to his mother, on the Brandywine, and renewed his earlier associations in that quarter, his father being now dead. He went to Washington shortly after the inauguration of Polk. Among the new cabinet officers were many intimate family friends, among them Buchanan, Walker, Marcy, George Bancroft, and others. He found himself heartily received at the capital. In the eyes of the people he was a hero. Washington was a large Virginia village at that time, and the kindness of so many distinguished persons was gratifying after the hardships of his frontier life. Through all the flattering attentions he received he bore himself with that true quaker modesty which had been bred in him from boyhood. He called on James Buchanan, secretary of state, who recognized him at once, greeted him kindly, and requested him to recite the incidents of of his expedition to Oregon. This was done, and so interesting was it that Buchanan said, when Gilpin had finished: "You must come with me at once to the president and give him word for word, as near as you can, what you have told me. It is bewitching, and will be invaluable to us just at this time." He at once went to the president, and introducing Gilpin, said: "Here is my young friend William Gilpin, known to me from a boy. He is the greatest trav-

eller of his age, and has given me such a clear, concise, and valuable account of his journeyings that I wish you to hear the same; and further, Mr President, he does not desire an office." The president greeted him kindly, spoke of his friendship with his brother, Henry Gilpin, and seconded Mr Buchanan's request for an interview. This had been Gilpin's object from the beginning, and his dream of establishing an empire in the wilderness now seemed in a fair way to be realized. He repeated the account of his travels to the president, with his impressions of the country through which he had passed, a description of the climate and soil, the few settlers he had met, and their condition and necessities. His recital proved very gratifying to Mr Polk, who expressed his astonishment no less at the courage and enterprise of the young man than at what he heard regarding the condition of affairs in the west. Gilpin saw that an attempt would be made to overthrow Polk on the extension of territory question, as had been the case with Jackson on the currency question. His policy was that of Jefferson's, to push on to the Pacific and make safe all that vast country.

As has been said, Lieutenant Gilpin desired no office. The idea of western dominion was with him greater than any position within the gift of the administration, or of the people, which would trammel his independence. He would have entertained no proposition, he would have entered upon no road to honor or emolument, which would not have led in the direction of his grand and animating conception. In the discussion of Oregon affairs, he was preëminently a most important personage. In speaking to him, Senator Benton said: "We are delighted to see you, and we are delighted with your conversations; you are in a position to give us facts that we cannot find in any books; and you will find it universally satisfactory and to the pleasure of all our friends if you will return when congress opens." Of course Benton favored

Fremont, the husband of Jessie, but he was still friendly and cordial to Gilpin. So the Oregon traveller went away, and returned at the convening of congress, and was admitted to all the debates, with the freedom of the floors of both houses, which were then in the old rooms; and often when a member was in the midst of a speech, he would turn to Gilpin and inquire as to some point with which he himself was not familiar.

Senator Niles of Connecticut and Senator Atchison of Missouri, who belonged to the committee on post-offices and post-roads, were both greatly interested in Lieutenant Gilpin. Said the former: "All that you have stated not only surprises me exceedingly, but harmonizes with my sentiments; but it is all too new and I am too old to study it out in all its vast magnitude; if you will address a letter to Senator Atchison covering the subject, I will introduce a bill and lay it before congress, making my report introductory to the same."

The report was submitted March 2, 1846, and ordered to be printed, 3,000 copies more being ordered two days thereafter. The committee recomended the opening of a mail route from the western line of the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia river.

In this letter Mr Gilpin gave a full description of the condition of affairs in Oregon. He speaks of the population, the industries and products of the country, also its position in relation to Japan and China, and the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company. He then pointed out the advantages, or rather, the absolute necessity, of a transcontinental mail route. It is worthy of remark that Mr Gilpin was among the first to suggest and urge this measure, as well as those of steam communication via Panamá, and the overland railway.

This much having been disclosed, congress and the people desired to know more. On the 16th of March Senator Semple addressed a letter to Mr Gilpin

requesting further information. Accompanying his answer was a full exposition of the natural resources and condition of the farthest west. He gave the geography and position of Oregon, showed the growth of America and the folly of restricting progress. He explained the possibilities of Pacific coast traffic, the geographical proportions of our national territory, the productive strength of America, the old and the new routes of commerce, the natural commercial affinity of the Americans and Asiatics, the dignity of the American position, and the necessity for further topographic knowledge. Then he gave a fine dissertation upon climates, and on the physical character of the Pacific slope of the American continent. Next he speaks of the settlement of Oregon, the necessity of American sovereignty on this continent, the European jealousy of America, concluding with some pertinent comparisons. Altogether the report made a book of forty-seven pages, and coming just at this time, on the eve of the settlement of the Oregon question, the Mexican war, and the acquisition of California, its influence and importance cannot be estimated.

Gilpin remained in Washington until the declaration of war against Mexico. Immediately after the battle of Palo Alto, a bill was passed entitled "An act to appropriate money for the existing hostilities between the United States and Mexico." Gilpin's petition from Oregon had been introduced in the senate by Atchison, and was document No. 1 in both houses. After the declaration of war he had notified persons in Jackson county to raise a company, and they had saved a place for him, but this he did not want. From President Polk he obtained permission to call out one regiment of Missouri cavalry, and to call it the Army of the West. Upon reaching Independence he found that a company of 105 men had been raised, and had proceeded to Fort Leavenworth to be mustered in.

He at once proceeded to Fort Leavenworth, and there found six companies of the 1st regiment Missouri volunteers. Company A of this regiment was composed of his friends who were anxiously awaiting his arrival. Kearney was present, and as he did not feel kindly toward Gilpin he determined that he should have no command. Gilpin felt that he would be elected an officer if he could once gain admission to the company. He found in the company from Jackson county a boy, sixteen years old, whose widowed mother had claimed his discharge on account of his youth, and Gilpin paid this boy eighty-five dollars for his place in the ranks. Otherwise he could not have secured a place, as the company already numbered 105; but as they were strong, hardy, and desirable soldiers, they had been permitted to remain. Gilpin was a trained soldier from the school, and had also had experience on the field, and he drilled the companies up to the time of the election of officers. Among the men was an old class-mate named Ruff. Some of the men were pleased to think they could prevent Gilpin from holding any office in the company, as he previously had worked his way up to a 1st lieutenancy, and then despising that rank, had resigned.

Well, the election proceeded. A man named Doniphan was chosen colonel, and the election for lieutenant-colonel then came up. Doniphan desired Gilpin to have the place, but Ruff was the candidate of the West Pointers. Ruff was elected by two votes. The office of major was still open. After the election had proceeded thus far, the regiment broke into confusion and declared that Gilpin should be major. Gilpin thereupon made them a speech of about twenty minutes' duration, after which he was informed that Kearney wished to see him in his office. He obeyed the summons, and Kearney said: "I have received from the president an appointment for you as lieutenant-colonel of the 3d regiment, and I suppose this is followed by a life service if you choose. Had you not better with-

draw now and avail yourself of this appointment?" Said Gilpin, "I will not accept it." He felt it was a measure which would turn him from the west. He returned to the parade ground and was unanimously declared elected major, without the formality of balloting. It spite of his age Gilpin had at that time more frontier experience than any of the officers; his training had been thorough and varied, and he was virtually master of the situation. The army entered Santa Fé in triumph on the 14th of August, 1846. Kearney had become homesick and desired to turn back.

The army of the west at that time consisted of the 1st regiment Missouri volunteers, of which Gilpin was major, three companies of dragoons, a battery of volunteer artillery, a small battalion of infantry from Cole county, Missouri, and a small cavalry company from St Louis. Attached to the army were three hundred merchant wagons with their owners. They had laid in a stock of goods especially adapted to the Mexican country, and they now desired to keep on to Chihuahua, their destination. These teamsters were as good soldiers as any in the army, and assisted materially at the battle of Sacramento, which preceded the taking of the city of Chihuahua. This battle, at which the Americans had less than 1,200 men in rank, was fought on the 28th of February, 1847, beginning at 3 A. M., and ending at twenty minutes past ten in the evening. The Mexican army, according to Gilpin's estimate, had 5,250 soldiers, with five generals and 26 pieces of artillery. The Americans had about eight hundred men, including the teamsters, who guarded the corral; but not all reported for duty; there were four field-pieces and two mountain howitzers. The Mexicans were drawn up in line and the Americans began to manœuvre.

They marched past the Mexicans, who, not anticipating such a measure, waited too long and were then forced to move suddenly and disorderly to prevent the American army from marching around them to

the city. As they turned to rectify their mistake the Americans charged them upon the flank, captured their artillery, cut them in two, and defeated the two wings. The army then marched to Chihuahua, where it remained some three months. A dispute here arose between Gilpin and Doniphan, which involved the integrity of the expedition.

The average age of the army was 22 years, and there was a difference of sentiment among the men, the younger ones wishing to push on into the Mexican country, and the others desiring to return. Gilpin's idea was this: that as they had possession of that magnificent city, and as the mint contained about $800,000, they should confiscate that money, as they had a right to do, as spoils of war. Up to this time the army had not received any pay or recognition of their valor from home. Finally Doniphan agreed to call a court-martial and submit the question as to whether the army should retrace its steps, or push on to conquer the whole Mexican country. Thus far, besides doing their own work, they had done that which had been allotted to General Wool. Doniphan picked the members of the court-martial, such as would favor his views, as nearly as he was able; but Gilpin had all the young men on his side. The question was put, and it was decided to push on to the city of Mexico. They then made a three days' march in that direction, Doniphan accompanying them, although protesting at every step, and offering to resign his command to Gilpin and return home. The third day they halted at San Felipe. Doniphan had left two companies at Chihuahua to guard the city; also a number of the merchants who wished to sell out their goods. At San Felipe, on the following morning, when they were expecting to pursue their way, and while Gilpin was waiting for the order of march from Doniphan, to his surprise no such order came. What still more astonished him was to see Doniphan and several of his friends mount and take

the back trail to Chihuahua. One of Doniphan's men came up presently and said that the orders were that the whole army should return to Chihuahua, that the country was full of hostile bands, that the soldiers left at Chihuahua would be massacred, and that he would not expose them in such a manner; so the whole army turned back. Arriving at Chihuahua there was another discussion as to whether the army should return home or not, and Gilpin succeeded in preventing this. Doniphan finally agreed to compromise the matter, the Gilpin party agreeing not to resume the march to Mexico, and Doniphan not to return to Missouri.

Doniphan wrote a letter to General Taylor, then at Monterey, stating the position and condition of the army of the west, and requesting orders where to go. This was forwarded by special messenger. Taylor's answer was, "Come to me." So they started. From Chihuahua they marched through the state of Durango to Buena Vista, where Wool's army was encamped, and thence made a two days' march to Monterey. Over a year had passed away, and the fighting was at an end. They had now but to return home, so after spending one day with Taylor, they proceeded to Mier on the Del Norte, which stream was too low for navigation; whereupon they kept on down the river for thirty miles, until they found transports. From there they went down to the mouth of the river, landing at Bagdad. The nearest harbor into which transports for New Orleans could come was Brazos Santiago. Here arrangements were made for the transportation of the army to New Orleans.

Major Gilpin proceeded in advance with a personal guard of twelve men, taking the steamer *Telegraph* to New Orleans, where he arranged for the reception and paying of the army. He was three days in New Orleans before the first of the force arrived, during which time he and his companions were guests of the city. The gallant young major had seen service in

the everglades of Florida, had been three years on the coast of Oregon, and eighteen months in the Mexican war, and his name was in every one's mouth. July and August the army spent in St Louis, where the twelve companies were discharged, and the people of Missouri were profuse in their attentions to the returned veterans. Major Gilpin was at this time suffering from the effects of malaria and touches of typhoid fever, and he concluded to go home to Independence to rest and recuperate. But for ten years the seeds of disease remained in his system.

At a reunion of Doniphan's command, on the ninth anniversary of the battle of Sacramento, held at Sacramento City, California, the third toast was as follows: "Major William Gilpin, the essence of chivalry, the disciplinarian of the regiment." To which sentiment Senator Crenshaw replied: "I suppose I am chosen to respond to this toast on account of my intimate acquaintance with Major Gilpin. We were both in the same regiment, and from the position that I held, I had many opportunities of knowing that he possessed all the attributes expressed in the sentiment just read. It was to him the regiment was indebted for the military training it received. Colonel Doniphan was in reality a citizen soldier. All his movements were characterized by a cool determination. The regiment was composed of the best men in the state of Missouri, young but courageous. During the whole of their adventurous march, traits of heroism were constantly exhibited. But the crowning act was the battle of Sacramento. Upon the rolls that morning there were less than eight hundred men reported for duty, all told. By the books which afterward fell into our hands, and which I have yet in my possession, the Mexican force that morning reported for duty over four thousand men The Mexicans, besides, occupied a position protected by redoubts and ditches, and had a much superior artillery force. Behind Doniphan's men was a desert of two thousand

miles; they were three hundred miles distant from another American soldier; they were almost entirely bereft of food, and clothed in rags. The Mexicans were certain of an easy victory. They had already provided the thongs with which to pinion the Missouri Yankees. But the motto of the American was victory or death. I remember well seeing some of the thoughtful clip locks of hair from their heads, and give them to their comrades, to be sent to loved ones at home in case they fell in battle. The Mexican cavalry charged, full of confidence. Not a shot was fired from our ranks until they had approached near enough to insure a dead aim. Then was heard the dreadful crack of the western rifle. The enemy melted before the murderous discharge like grass before the scythe. Confusion took possession of their ranks, and they fled, leaving over two hundred dead upon the field. Many of the dead had received rifle-balls in their foreheads. But one American was killed, the lamented Owens, who was shot while charging upon the redoubt."

During that summer the Indians broke out along the trail from Fort Leavenworth to Sante Fé, murdering the teamsters, robbing and burning the trains; and then came the news that the Indians had consolidated and were to unite seven tribes in an onslaught upon the American people along the Arkansas. The white men, they said, should not have all the fighting, robbery, and pillage. The news created much excitement all through Missouri, and Polk became alarmed. He called a meeting of two or three of his cabinet officers, among them being Benton, and related what he had heard, expressing the fear that war would become universal, and that he would be severely criticised for allowing such a thing to occur. Benton then suggested a plan which was afterward carried out.

It was probably about the end of August 1847,

when one day while Major Gilpin was lying in bed, with a physician in attendance, at his home in Independence, he received a visit from Governor Edwards of Missouri, who said: "I come at the request of the president of the United States, to tell you of the anxiety he is in, and of his opinion that the war will spread and involve the whole of the southwest, and that these things would bring censure upon him." He went on to say that the president wished to know if Major Gilpin would raise an army of volunteers, take care of the Indians, and reopen communication with our army in northern Mexico. Major Gilpin replied: "I have gone through the Mexican war, and other labors such as I should not suppose were within the bounds of human endurance, and I have not a dollar left for my trouble; what I have received does not amount to one third of what I have spent; I have seen no notice of my services, and I must decline this offer." Said the governor: "If you do not accept this mission, some inexperienced person will be put in, with no knowledge of what it has taken you twenty years to learn, and as a result, Missouri will be lost." "Very well, I will accept the mission on three conditions," replied the major: "first, if my health permits, and I think I shall soon recover; secondly, that I must sign my own orders as to where I shall go and what I shall do and how I shall do it, and that I shall recruit my men here in Missouri, where I can select such as are suited to the desperate service in which I am to be engaged and to be held accountable for; and thirdly, that the president will be pleased to instruct all the generals who are now commanding points of supplies that whatever requisitions I shall make upon them must be filled without delay, either for supplies or for money." His intention, at once formed, was to make a winter campaign against the Indians, knowing that if they should unite in the spring they would sweep the whole of Missouri. Edwards communicated with Mr Polk, and reported

that the conditions made were satisfactory to him, and that instructions would be issued to that effect.

As soon as Major Gilpin could leave his bed he raised eight companies, though he was obliged to take new men, as those who had participated in the Mexican war were not yet sufficiently recuperated for fresh service. He had a splendid battery of six guns from St Louis, two companies of infantry and two companies of cavalry, with additional men, attendants, wagoners, etc., in all about eight hundred and fifty strong. The arms were all shipped to Fort Leavenworth, whither the force was sent, and were the best that could be procured. This was called Gilpin's battalion, of which he was lieutenant-colonel, there being no other field-officer. There was in command at Fort Leavenworth Lieutenant-colonel Clifton Wharton, a distant relative of Colonel Gilpin, though the two were not upon the best of terms.

The supplies had all arrived, provisions in abundance, wagons and arms, and nothing remained but to muster in the force, equip them, and start. Wharton at first refused to deliver to Colonel Gilpin the supplies or arms, saying it was an indiscreet thing to send a young boy out on the plains at the beginning of winter, into an Indian country. After several disputes, and being once placed under arrest by Wharton, Gilpin wound the matter up by preparing a challenge to fight Wharton, who, learning of it, was immediately taken ill. Calling Gilpin to him at his room, he turned over the supplies and arms to him, and in three days the force was equipped, and armed, ready to start; it moved forward on the 4th day of October. The supplies consisted of 200 wagons of provisions, 500 head of beef cattle, and fifteen wagons of ammunition. When but a short distance out from Fort Leavenworth, a portion of the command mutinied; but they were threatened with instant death, and finally submitted. Without further incident the march was made to a spot just below the present site of Pueblo,

where they went into camp on the Arkansas bottoms, reaching there about the middle of November. Attached to the force were two hunters, John H. Thatcher, who afterward located himself in California and became a prosperous fruit-grower, and a character called Big Bill Fallon.

These men kept the force supplied with fresh meat all through the winter, so that it was not necessary to kill the beef cattle which had been brought. During all this winter Colonel Gilpin was in miserable health, owing to a severe cold which he had contracted at the beginning of the march; nevertheless he showed himself among the men every day. Delegations of Indians came frequently to visit the camp, and Gilpin sent for the chiefs of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who were the owners of the country, saying to them: "I will send a commissioner with you, and you must go up between the forks of the Platte and never leave there until I tell you to come."

Similar warning was sent to the Utes in the mountains. The winter was passed comfortably, and owing to the abundance of supplies the men were all in good humor. The time was occupied in drilling the soldiers, which was done thoroughly, and after methods particularly adapted to Indian warfare, and all preparatory for the spring campaign. The soldiers were expert rifle-men, who had been accustomed to barking squirrels in the woods of Missouri, and they were soon masters of the necessary tactics. When the time for action came they moved along down the foot of the mountains, and down into the summer country of the Indians. Stopping at a small town in New Mexico, called Moro, where he procured a supply of flour, Colonel Gilpin pushed on, his object being to ascertain the lines by which the Indians were coming to their fighting-ground.

The battle-ground where most of the fighting was done was about eighty miles from Fort Mann, now Dodge City, along the southern bank of the Arkansas,

which had afforded the savages traps for ambuscades, and where white men had been killed for fifty years past. For a distance of five or six hundred miles, scattered all along the way, trains of twenty and thirty wagons were found deserted where the Indians had left them on previous raids, the occupants having all been massacred. This spot was selected for a depot for supplies, for the reason that the formation of the sand-hills rendered it difficult to discover any one in them. Running south into the Arkansas through these hills was a little stream called Crooked creek, and up this stream the Indians would come in the summer, where they could have water and be sheltered from observation.

During the winter he camped all along the bottoms of the Arkansas, where the sweet cottonwoods grew, affording plenty of firewood, a space in which to drill, and some protection from the elements. He had Indian lodges for the soldiers and corrals for the animals. At night they would strew the bottoms of the corrals with branches of the sweet cottonwoods, and from these branches the horses would strip every vestige of the bark. In this way the horses were kept in good condition, and the force was enabled to take the war-path two months before the Indians, with their emaciated animals, could move. During two months leisure he had the scouts locate all the various trails by which the Indians would come in; the force was then divided into four fighting parties under good officers. These four companies were stationed at different localities, and caught, in detail, the advancing tribes as they came in from every direction to join their confederates. On one occasion he learned that a party of Comanche warriors had left their camp on the Cimaron, and were on their way to the fighting-ground on the Arkansas. One of the divisions was sent down and destroyed the camp, and on the same day another division on the Arkansas attacked the party of warriors and drove them off down to their home. This

party returned to camp without pursuing the Comanches, and Colonel Gilpin immediately detailed another division to carry out their work. In the interval, a party of sixty-three Pawnee warriors had come upon the trail of the retreating Comanches, and had followed it to see what it meant. The white men followed on down after the Comanches, and soon came up with the Pawnees, who were encamped in a grove. A short and sharp battle ensued, and only two Indians escaped.

Nine battles were fought from the middle of July to the end of August, and 253 scalps of warriors were taken from first to last.

On the 1st of November, 1848, the force arrived at Leavenworth, after a campaign of a little over a year. Meanwhile Colonel Gilpin's health instead of improving was almost destroyed. He remained at his home in Independence until May 1849, when it became evident to him that he must either die or secure the services of a physician who could cure him. Thereupon he proceeded to St Louis, where he placed himself under the care of Doctor Pope, an eminent physician of that city. He arrived there in the midst of the cholera season. The day previous to his arrival 361 deaths had occurred, and wherever he went he either saw crape on the door or the occupants of the house were attending the funeral of some friend. These melancholy surroundings were not conducive to his recovery; and learning that the disease was not so prevalent elsewhere, he went to Lexington, Kentucky, where he secured the services of Doctor Benjamin Dudley, the founder and head of the Transylvania University. Dudley said: "You are the worst diseased man but one that I have seen in forty-five years of practice. Still, if you will follow my advice for a week, I will let you know whether I can cure you, or will have to let you die."

At the end of the week Dudley said he would do

the best he could to keep him alive. His vital functions had been sadly depleted during his years of frontier exposure, and only his iron constitution could have carried him through. Under such heroic treatment as raw calomel three times a week, mixed with ipecac and rhubarb, he began slowly to regain his health. While at Lexington his residence was in the old Phœnix hotel. The sentiment of secession was beginning to germinate, and many of the representative southern men would consult with him regarding the situation. These individuals were very communicative, and he learned much of their half-formed plans, always taking care to get as much as he gave. After a hundred days or so had elapsed, he returned to St Louis, weighing 100 pounds, but on the road to recovery. St Louis was the wintering point for the wealthy planters in that section, and in the winter of 1849–50 Colonel Gilpin participated as actively as his reduced physical condition would permit in the brilliant social events of the city. After a time, as he did not improve in health materially, he bethought himself of an eminent physician of Philadelphia, Doctor Samuel Jackson, a man whom he had known in his younger days. His mother was living in Philadelphia with her two daughters, and thither he proceeded and placed himself under treatment. He remained in Philadelphia during one summer, and then returned to his home in Independence. Living on his plantation was inexpensive, and a portion of his land he laid off as an addition to the town, from which he realized a small sum of money. In company with five others he also laid off Kansas City, which was first called Centropolis; but the name which the city now bears was determined by the voice of the people, who fell into the habit of calling it Kansas City. He remained in that locality until 1861, making occasional trips to Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and St Louis, practising his profession at times, and leading rather a quiet life.

About the first of February of the year last named, he made a trip to St Louis, where he met General Hunter and General Sumner, who informed him that President-elect Lincoln was to start from Springfield for Washington upon the third morning thereafter, and as the party was small he was anxious to have in it some southern man who had voted for him in a slave state. Gilpin had cast the only republican vote in Jackson county, though he had been unable to procure a printed ticket. Accordingly it was agreed that he should make one of the company. They joined the party at Springfield, which was transported to Washington in a small car holding but thirteen persons. On arriving at Washington he was one of a hundred men who slept in the White house as a personal guard to the president. Immediately after the inauguration he was asked if he would accept an appointment as governor of Colorado, as he was considered the one indispensable man for the position. He immediately signified his willingness to do so.

At the first cabinet meeting the matter was brought up, and Colonel Gilpin was nominated by Blair for the position. Cameron being present seconded the motion, whereupon the appointment was filled out, and unanimously confirmed by both houses. He immediately received his commission from Secretary Seward. The time was indeed critical: the nation was on the ragged edge of dissolution, and every member of the administration was worn out with anxiety. Cameron had agreed to furnish Governor Gilpin with instructions, but finally told him to write them out himself, and he, Cameron, would sign them. The day previous to his departure from Washington, Governor Gilpin was unable to see any cabinet member, and at 12 o'clock at night he took up his post in front of the White house, where he rightly surmised they were holding a consultation. Shortly afterward three persons came out and stood on the porch conversing. Governor Gilpin recognized and spoke to them. They were

Cameron, Scott, and Lincoln. He informed Mr Lincoln that he had his commission in his pocket, and was ready to leave for Colorado. He further went on to say that it would be necessary for him to have money with which to pay expenses that must necessarily be incurred at the beginning. Said Mr Lincoln: "We have not a cent. I have just negotiated a loan of fifty millions of dollars from the banks of New York, and have called a special session of congress to meet on the 4th of July, to know if they will hang me for treason for this unconstitutional act. If you are driven to extremities you must do as I have done, issue drafts on your own responsibility."

"What shall I do for soldiers?" asked Gilpin.

"If you need them, call them out as we have done, command them yourself, send your pay-rolls to me, and I will see that they are paid," said Cameron. "We will give you the rank of command of brigadier-general." Both Lincoln and Scott acquiesced in this arrangement. He then bade them farewell and left them. Early in April he arrived in Denver. The only other member of the government then in the place was Secretary Weld, who had been residing here for some time. On alighting from the coach he was greeted by a dozen or so of his old acquaintances, the first comers to Colorado, who welcomed him heartily. Waiting upon him later in his room, they presented commissions from Medeira and Denver, governors of Kansas, expressed their faith in Gilpin's ability and firmness, and requested him to renew their commissions. Said their spokesman: "If you want a legislature, call it and we will fill it for you, and we expect to have you on our side." But theirs was not the side of loyalty and integrity; it was not Governor Gilpin's side; nevertheless, it was deemed better to make propositions to neutralize their influence than to provoke open hostilities. Therefore he said to them: "Gentlemen, I am much obliged for your kindness, but there is ample time to consider

this matter after I look around a little." The secession flag was at the time flying from the Criterion, a theatre and gambling-house on Larimer street, between 15th and 16th streets. The bill creating Colorado had been introduced by Green, a strong secessionist in congress, and this was done for the purpose of establishing slavery in Colorado, and the powers granted were pure despotism. Gilpin was present at the time the bill was passed, and it originally was to establish Jefferson Territory, but at Gilpin's suggestion the name was changed to Colorado.

The newly appointed governor found the secession element in full blast; he found also a provincial government, and a regiment of mounted riflemen, sixty-nine strong, organized and furnished with arms. Governor Gilpin found the situation a trying one; and just how to use the power which had been conferred upon him could only be determined by careful consideration; but his plans were ultimately formed with methodical exactness.

He despatched a man who was secretary to Russell, one of the owners of the stage line, to Central City, where were the most of the men he had to deal with, a nest of secessionists, to say that on Thursday, at three o'clock, he would be there to address the people. This was on Tuesday. Promptly at the hour appointed he was on the spot, and delivered a lengthy address upon the political and social condition. An Irishman named Kavanaugh attempted to reply to the governor's speech, but he had proceeded only a few moments when the assemblage took offence at his remarks and prevented his continuing.

Subsequently Governor Gilpin made a tour to the principal settlements and mining camps throughout the territory, speaking in them, and advocating the cause of the union. On this trip the marshal of the territory accompanied him for the purpose of taking a census. In summing up results after his tour of speech-making, he found that he could rely on the

people to stand by the union cause by eight hundred and fifty majority. Then he had the secessionists to deal with, and he prosecuted this work with vigor and promptitude. He mustered in a few soldiers, but they were without arms, while the secessionists were well armed. He managed to gather from the loyal people a number of old rifles and muskets, many of them broken and useless, and pistols without locks; and with these he made a fair showing for a time. The mails had been stopped, and provisions were very scarce. The secessionists were recruiting constantly, and many enlisted with them merely because they were starving. All eyes were upon the chief executive, and by a judicious display of the useless arms he succeeded in keeping matters quiet for the time.

The second regiment of United States dragoons had been stationed at Fort Crittenden in Utah during the Utah war. That being over, the troops started east. When they arrived at Laramie, Governor Gilpin made known his situation to Pleasanton, who was in command, and he at once placed at the governor's disposal eighteen wagons containing 1,800 new Mississippi rifles, with a large supply of fixed ammunition. By this means Colorado was saved. A man named Slough, who had been mayor of Denver, was appointed captain of the forces, and Logan was appointed first lieutenant. Camp Weld was constructed near the city, and here the troops were drilled daily. The government was thus fully established. The governor made a code of laws, which was received by the people with satisfaction. This was early in December 1861. In procuring supplies for the one company of infantry, and two companies of cavalry which were now mustered in, Governor Gilpin was obliged to follow Lincoln's plan of raising money for the United States. He drew what was necessary from the merchants of Denver, giving them therefor drafts upon the United States government. At the end of every thirty days a special mes-

senger took them to Washington, where payment was at first refused; but finally a government agent was sent to Colorado, and all the indebtedness paid. The total amount of drafts drawn and paid during the campaign was $227,500, which covered all the expenses of the government.

The Texan army under Sibley marched up and took possession of Santa Fé, and friends of Governor Gilpin immediately brought the news to Denver. The forces here at once pushed on to Fort Union, marching over Raton pass in the dead of winter. General Rene Paul, a first cousin to Governor Gilpin's wife, was in command there, and received the Colorado troops, re-armed and re-clothed them, all in a single day. The Texan army, having captured Canby and his forces, were at Santa Fé resting and preparing to move upon Fort Union, where there were thirty thousand stand of arms. In Slough's command was a man named Collins, who had guided the American troops into Chihuahna, and who was familiar with all the mountain trails around Apache cañon. With a portion of Slough's men he went over a trail, got in behind the Texans, and at daylight camped where they had left their wagons, they in the mean time having advanced through the cañon. They were attacked at the mouth of the cañon by Slough with such vigor that they were forced to retreat. Arriving at their camp they found it destroyed, all their supplies and provisions having been found by Collins, whereupon they broke up and scattered. This was the battle of Glorietta.

Toward the latter part of 1862, Governor Gilpin received a request from President Lincoln to come to Washington, if he could be spared, which was complied with. Notwithstanding all that Governor Gilpin had done for Colorado, essentially saving the country to the union, his enemies were ever actively at work circulating false statements and stirring up strife, and it was deemed advisable to make a change.

Governor Gilpin set out for home on the 8th of January, 1862. Soon after his return to Colorado, he received a letter from Seward, saying that the territory was in a very dangerous condition, that they did not know what would become of it, and requesting him to remain as governor until his successor should arrive at Denver. He was succeeded by John Evans, of Illinois.

On his return from the Pacific coast in 1844, Governor Gilpin had stopped for rest at Bent's fort, and while there he had familiarized himself with the Mexican system of grants, and especially with the location of four large tracts, among them being the Sangre de Cristo rancho consisting of a million acres granted to Don Carlos Beaubien, and located in San Luis park. Returning to this country after the Mexican war, he had secured a floating grant of one hundred thousand acres, which he succeeded in locating in December 1862, along the northern boundary of New Mexico and the southern boundary of Colorado. While engaged in perfecting this title, he received a message from Don Carlos Beaubien, whom he had met some time before, requesting that he might see him at Taos on a matter of importance. He immediately proceeded to Taos, accompanying the messenger on his return. He found Beaubien, and held a long conference with him. Beaubien stated that he was now sixty-three years of age, had lived upon the frontier the greater part of his life, and desired to return with his wife to his birthplace, a few miles below Quebec, Canada. He stated further that he had a perfect title to the Sangre de Cristo grant of a million acres, and that he desired to dispose of the same. Governor Gilpin was familiar with the location and character of the land, and was desirous of securing possession of it. They fixed the price, and he was given the refusal of the land until the 4th of March, 1863, while in the mean time he would endeavor to raise the requisite money from his friends.

He returned to Santa Fé, where he concluded arrangements which perfected the title to his float, which he had located, and then proceeded to Denver, arriving here on the 21st day of February. While engaged in writing letters to his friends for the purpose of raising money, Bela M. Hughes arrived and proposed to him that he should accompany him to Salt Lake City, whither he was going to defend a brother of Ben Holladay, who was in prison on a charge of murder.

Thinking he could return in time to receive answers to his correspondence, which would be in about thirty days, Governor Gilpin consented to this proposition. But instead of returning direct from Salt Lake City, he was persuaded to accompany Frank Clark, treasurer of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express between Salt Lake City and San Francisco, to Sacramento. While driving in the latter place with Clark one day, they were thrown from their carriage, and Clark was killed, Governor Gilpin being so seriously injured that his recovery was despaired of. For forty-seven days he lay in bed in Sacramento, requiring assistance even to turn over. As he convalesced, he remembered friends of his in San Francisco, the Donahoes. When Donahoe and a friend of his were on their way to California in an early day, they were both taken ill at Independence, and Governor Gilpin had there rendered them valuable assistance. He now wrote to Donahoe, stating his position, and requesting a loan of a thousand dollars. The money came by return mail, as did also an invitation from Donahoe to visit him at his home in San Francisco. As soon as he was able to be up he accepted the invitation, and was elegantly entertained. On leaving San Francisco by steamer via Panamá for New York, Governor Gilpin received from Donahoe a letter to a friend in New York, and through his influence he secured a loan of thirty thousand dollars from the banking house of Duncan Sherman & Co., with which

to make the payment on the Sangre de Cristo grant. Early in March he left for Colorado, bearing with him thirty certificates of deposit for a thousand dollars each. Arriving in Denver he at once started for Beaubien's home, accompanied by an acquaintance from Denver, and on arriving at the entrance to Sangre de Cristo pass, he met an old friend, who informed him that Beaubien was dead. He inquired of his friend if he thought there would be any use of proceeding farther, and was informed that Beaubien, just before his death, had called his wife and children around him, and instructed them that the grant belonged to Governor Gilpin, and that it must be transferred to him in case he paid the money. Encouraged by this report, the governor hurried on and met the family. The deeds were drawn up, the money paid over and divided among the wife and children of Beaubien, and the transaction was complete. The summer of 1863 Governor Gilpin spent upon his million-acre tract, with five surveyors and seventeen prospectors, running out the lines and prospecting for minerals. They found thereon a great many gold mines. The next winter he went to New York and there endeavored to negotiate a sale of the land; but while New York capitalists favorably entertained the proposition, they did not have sufficient confidence in the resources of the country to invest their money in the wild lands of the Rocky mountains. He then consulted with Morton Fisher, a friend of his who had assisted him in securing the loan of thirty thousand dollars, and they decided that it would be best to place the land upon the London market. Finally it was decided that Fisher should go to London, while Governor Gilpin should return to Colorado and look after the property there.

Fisher put forth every effort to find a sale for the property in London, but was unsuccessful. He then determined to go to Holland, at the suggestion of an American who was practising law in London, and

who had been very successful in placing along the Rhine the bonds of the eastern division of the Union Pacific railway, and see what could be done there. They went to Amsterdam and were successful in selling 500,000 acres at a dollar an acre. Governor Gilpin was at once telegraphed for, and immediately proceeded to Amsterdam. Some little delay was caused by the breaking out along the Rhine of the war between Bismarck and Napoleon, but this was terminated by the battle of Sedan, and by the 17th of January, 1871, the money was deposited in the bank of England, and the sale consummated. The novelty of this transaction went abroad among the brokers, and attracted wide-spread attention. General Palmer arrived in Amsterdam just after the completion of the sale, and succeeded, through the influence of Governor Gilpin, in raising $60,000 to assist in constructing the Denver and Rio Grande railway, which was to run near the grant.

Thus we have presented before us the varied experiences of an active and useful man, of one who through a long period of public service performed many acts of the highest importance to the commonwealth, saving the country from bloody wars and revolution, and preserving it for a glorious reign of peace; and small was his reward.

The true patriot, instead of enriching himself at the cost of his country, too often brings down upon his devoted head the enmity of all. But it is the province of history to vindicate the just. There were times after the expiration of his term of office in Colorado when the former governor of the territory, he who had saved to the nation millions of dollars, had not twenty-five cents with which to buy his breakfast; nevertheless, when once his talents were directed toward himself, and for the provision of his family, he found no great difficulty in making a million or two of dollars.

Governor Gilpin married on the 12th of February, 1874, Mrs Julia Pratt Dickerson, of St Louis, widow of Captain Dickerson of that city. Mrs Gilpin had four children as the result of her first marriage, and of the second marriage there were born William and Mary, twins, May 12, 1875, and Louis, July 10, 1877. William and Mary are delightful children in every way, filled with the ethereal atmosphere in which they were born and have always lived. Mary has undoubted musical talent, and possesses a fine physique, graceful as Diana or Minerva. She has all the ideas, judgment, and caution of a woman of mature years; she is gentle, wholly without guile, affectionate, and a patient student. She commands every one who surrounds her, but in a gentle and sweet manner. She is an enigma of goodness. William is very bright and studious. He has a fine mechanical mind, full of courage and vigor. His father selects for him interesting and instructive books, such as *Plutarch's Lives*, and in studying, he is required to give particular attention to arithmetic.

Louis, the youngest child, has all these tastes. He is very graceful of movement, impetuous and full of energy and self-reliance, gentle, affectionate, and attentive to words of advice.

Governor Gilpin has strong domestic tastes, is warm-hearted and kind in his family, and exceedingly devoted to his children, who are his pride and joy. His studious habits he continues, delighting in generalizations from the immense store of knowledge treasured up in his mind. He is specially partial to biography, the *Life of Agricola* by Tacitus, the *Life of Cromwell* by Carlyle, *Plutarch's Lives*, *Count Wallenstein* by Shiller, *Southey's Nelson*, *Shakspeare's Hamlet*, *Napoleon's Julius Cæsar*, *Voltaire's Peter the Great*, and *Thiers's Napoleon* being among his favorites.

In 1860 Governor Gilpin published a work entitled *The Central Gold Region*. Three hundred copies were printed and distributed to the leading statesmen and

scholars of the day. In 1874, when slavery had been for some time abolished, and peace restored had began to perfect itself, he wrote a kind of peroration as to how these and kindred powers of evolution should result, in the form of a book entitled *Mission of the North American People, Geographical, Social, and Political; Illustrated by six charts, delineating the Physical Architecture and Thermal Laws of all the Continents.* In it the mountain formation of North America is first given; then the cordillera of the Sierra Madre; the plateau of North America; the Sierra San Juan; the South pass of America; the great basin of the Mississippi; pastoral America; the system of the parks; thermal America; a chapter on power; concluding with three chapters on the North American mission. In an appendix are given a few of the more conspicuous speeches of Mr Gilpin, on such subjects as the Mexican War; the Pacific Railway; and the geographical features of the Rocky mountains. The maps delineate the mountain system, the thermal belts, and the system of parks of North America, and a map of the world delineating the contrasted longitudinal and latitudinal forms of the continents, the isothermal zodiac and axis of intensity round the world, and the line of the Cosmopolitan railway and its longitudinal feeders.

The theories which we find elucidated in this work may be epitomized as follows: We represent English stock that runs back to the time of Alfred, and to the time of the formation of the Roman provinces in the reign of Claudius. We belong to a people who early accepted christianity. Our ancestors were devotees and followers of Cromwell, and held by him until he established the commonwealth of England. There was reconstructed a Roman empire with christainity, education, and science, as bases of progress, an empire of 350,000,000 of people with Queen Victoria at the head.

The American people are here on a fallow conti-

nent, and all their institutions are based upon the development of the people: First, democrary, rightly understood, reduced to practice—the sovereign power placed in the people. We have this continent which is able to feed mankind; we have no occasion, like the Romans, Greeks, or Spaniards, to make conquests or massacres, but we move on, and here are the Europeans swarming on one side and the Chinese on the other; but we shall take care of ourselves, and develop upon this intermediate and sublime continent a master nation, and do our work, and if the outside world pleases to attack us, uniting as they did against Napoleon, they could not even land on our continent; and in the mean time we are giving a successful example to Ireland and France, and to the socialists and nihilists. We are now by progressive experiments in possession of all the elements of political and social science.

Under the leadership of Washington and Franklin, of Jefferson, Jackson, and like men, the American people have brought democracy to be rightly understood and reduced to practice. First they have absolute sovereignty; the people decide everything; we have 11,500,000 votes cast in one day, where each man expresses his opinion of the government. The first thing the people did, the first use they made of this relegation of sovereignty which it took three generations standing under fire to protect, has been to establish universal, perpetual, and compulsory education; and we are now becoming matured in our declaration of independence, the federal constitution, and the constitutions of the states. We have a peculiar system of balance in choosing the presidential electors, which was the best that could be invented by the men who did it; and the people, understanding this, are adapting themselves to the enlargement and extension of society and its wants. Every thirty years a new generation comes in, and if there is anything not suited to the times, they elimi-

nate it; and if there is anything newly invented, they put it into their constitution as a discovery, whether it be of political or social science.

We have all kinds of population, the pioneer population making farms, the manufacturing population producing for us, and the laboring population. We have a broad belt of temperate zone extending from sea to sea. In Europe there are monarchies and barbarisms which are perpetually fighting and slaughtering one another. Here our genius takes another turn. We are a complete nation, living in harmony; we have tried a great many things that never were tried before. Our mission is to plant empire in the wilderness. When we cross the Atlantic and come here our world opens to the way, our arena of effort widens. We have this great concave continent, with the modifications of the temperate zone, the semi-tropical zone, and the arctic zone. In the semi-tropics we can cultivate the semi-tropical fruits, oranges, bananas, etc., and rice and sugar, and cotton for our summer wear and for the summer clothing of the world; and then above that comes the region of Indian corn and pork; the broader belt of wheat, cattle, and horses; and wool for the winter clothing of the world; hides for the leather of the world; also wine, liquors, and tobacco; and above that the belt of oats and hay; and then we have barley. These belts are all united by the longitudal rivers; and now we are putting railroads on all their banks. Then belts of temperate warmth are thus *echeloned* across our continent, from east to west like the streaks of the rainbow. Various atmospheres envelope us, the cloudy, or aqueous, covering about four fifths of the earth's surface; then at a height of four or five thousand feet, the aerial atmosphere, to which the heavier clouds cannot attain. Here is the only ethereal or continental climate that the human race can profitably enter. The Cosmopolitan railway across Bering strait will connect the systems of America with the systems of Asia and Europe; that

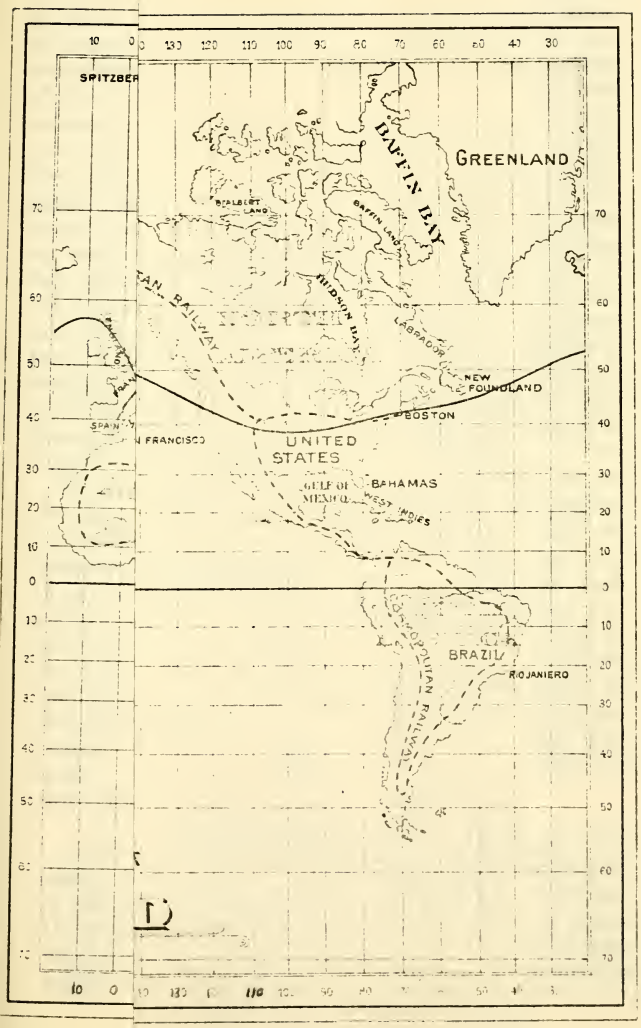
this is possible you have only to ascertain the facts regarding the physical features of that region. Indeed, we are now in the very midst of this new departure, we are now upon the plane of this higher civilization, and yet all the while advancing and expanding.

We have abolished aristocrats and plebeians, and have established patrician democracy, and this has been done by universal suffrage and perpetual education, which are the elements that expand and preserve it, until we find what is wrong and weed it out, and what is right and congeal it. Literature preserves and creates lives; while the bad dies out of all we have from antiquity, the good only has lived. Evolution proves this.

America is now getting her continental dimensions, and the people who control the North American island are forming themselves into a pioneer army which plants empire in the wilderness, not by slaughter, as did Cæsar and Alexander and the Spaniards; it takes the nations of the world which they slaughtered and peoples the wilderness under a policy of peace and industry.

In regard to the plateau of North America, the author says that it is little understood, even by those who travel over it, extending from Tehuantepec to the polar sea, with a genial altitude of 6,000 feet, the mountains on either side being 12,000 feet high; it has an area of 11,000,000 square miles, and is almost everywhere easy of access. It has seven great basins, namely, the valley of Mexico, the Bolsom de Mapimi, the Rio Bravo del Norte, Colorado, Great Salt Lake, the Columbia, and the basin of Fraser river. The climates are dry, altitude and aridity tempering the heat toward the south, and the cold toward the north. The soils are fertile, both for agricultural and pastoral purposes.

Governor Gilpin did much to advance the idea of a Pacific railway, and at a time when the prospect was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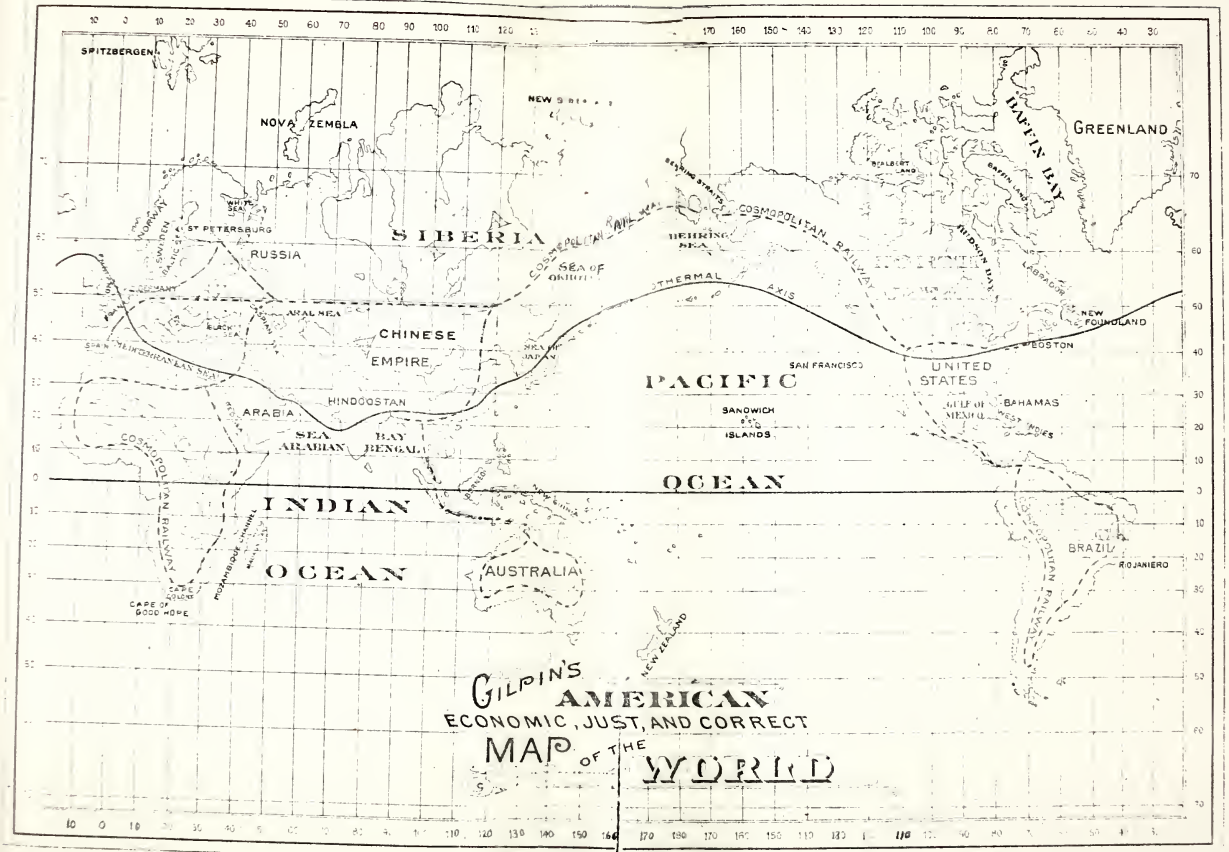


GILPIN'S AMERICAN ECONOMIC, JUST, AND CORRECT MAP OF THE WORLD

thought by many to be chimerical, giving it the aid of both tongue and pen. In a speech delivered at Wakerusa, now Lawrence, Kansas, and again at Independence, he says: "We perceive in the formation of the American continent a sublime simplicity, an economy of arrangement singular to itself, and the reverse of what distinguishes the rest of the world. The continents of the old world resemble a bowl placed bottom upward, which scatters everything poured upon it, whilst northern America, right side up, receives and gathers toward its center whatever falls within its rim. In geography the antithesis of the old world, in society it will be the reverse. North America will rapidly attain to a population equalling that of the rest of the world combined, forming a single people identical in manners, language, and impulse, preserving the same civilization, imbued with the same opinions, and having the same political liberties."

In a speech delivered at St Louis on the 8th of January, 1850, on the then existing Indian policy, Colonel Gilpin said: "There is observable an arrangement of our people, in general, in these proportions: Agriculturists in the middle, southern, and central states, producers of articles for foreign export, are seventy per cent of the whole population of the union; agriculturists of the commercial states, producing food for the immediate consumption of their commercial cities, twenty per cent; commerce proper, which also includes manufactures, ten per cent." After the lecture a number of resolutions were offered and passed.

In London, in 1870, was published *Notes on Colorado; And its inscription in the Physical Geography of the North American Continent, by William Gilpin, Governor of the Territory of Colorado.* It is a 16mo brochure of 52 pages, and its contents were spoken before a large audience, under the auspices of the

British Association of Science, at Liverpool, on the 26th of September of that year.

It was one of Mr Gilpin's ablest efforts. It opens in this wise: "A glance of the eye thrown across the North American continent, accompanying the course of the sun from ocean to ocean, reveals an extraordinary landscape. It displays immense forces characterized by order, activity, and progress. The structure of nature, the marching of a vast population, the creations of the people, individually and combined, are seen in infinite varieties of form and gigantic dimensions. Farms, cities, states, public works, define themselves, flash into form, accumulate, combine, and harmonize. The pioneer army perpetually advances, reconnoitres, strikes to the front. Empire plants itself upon the trails. Agitation, creative energy, industry, throb throughout and animate this crowding deluge. Conclusive occupation, solidity, permanence, and a stern discipline attend every movement and illustrate every camp. The American realizes that progress is God. He clearly recognizes and accepts the continental mission of his country and his people. His faith is impregnably fortified by this vision of power, unity, and forward motion."

In another place it says: "It fell to my lot, during the years from 1840 to 1845, alone and in extreme youth, to seek and chalk out, in the immense solitudes filling the space from Missouri to China, the lines of this dazzling empire of which we now hold the oracular crown, to have stood by its cradle, to be the witness of its miraculous growth."

Thus in perusing the life of William Gilpin, the philosophic reader cannot fail to have noticed underlying principles governing all; strong currents of original and practical thought sweeping before them old-time dogmas and superstitions. His great mind, like Humboldt's, absorbing and retaining all knowledge, in his elucidations thereof he seems like one

perched above the world, and taking in at one glance all lands and all times.

He sees the several continents surrounded by the several oceans, the continents of Europe and Asia being convex in their configuration, thus isolating peoples and products, and engendering diversity of interests and general distraction, while the continent of America is concave in its structure, tending to homogeneity and harmonious unity.

He sees the mountain and river systems of the old world running with the latitudinal lines, thus restricting animals and plants each to their climatic zone, and preventing that free social and commercial intercourse which tends to the highest development; while in the new world the mountain and river systems run longitudinally across isothermal lines, thus breaking the barriers of configurations and climates, and throwing together the various productions of earth and man.

He sees extending along the summit of the great American Andes a system of plateaux and parks, high in ethereal air, where men or gods may dwell and achieve their ultimate endeavor. Along this line extends the natural course for a continental railway connecting the railway systems of America with those of Europe, thus bringing the whole world together by continuous iron track with only the ferriage of the strait of Bering.

He sees the power of population trailing in from the old world, and overspreading the new, whose elevation of intellect and extension of capabilities with all the collateral comforts and blessings attendant thereunto it is the mission of the American people to accomplish. The pioneer army are already here at work, absorbing and assimilating to our advanced ideas and institutions the effete civilizations of Asia and Europe.

He sees the great heart of American society palpitating with new fires impelled by a universal instinct, inspiring discipline in action and rectitude of purpose.

He sees a divine light issuing from the obscurity

of the past, shining upon our country and our people, illuminating alike the recesses of nature and the intellect of man.

He sees that in the first three centuries now rolling over our race upon this continent, from nothing we have become one hundred millions of people. From nothing we have grown to be in agriculture, commerce, and native ability the first among existing nations; and this is but the beginning. We have yet vast areas of the continent to subdue, and to perfect the industries and institutions of the parts whose occupation is begun.

Such is the mission of the North American people, to animate their own future millions and cheer them upward, to establish new order in human affairs, and regenerate superannuated nations, to confirm the destiny of the human race, to perfect science, to emblazon history with the conquest of peace, and shed a new and resplendent glory on mankind.

Physically and intellectually Governor Gilpin presents a striking figure. Full six feet in height, weighing 160 pounds, graceful in his movement, courteous in manner, fine Greek head well set on good square shoulders, big brain pan, dark brown hair turned grayish, dark hazel eyes still bright and penetrating, nervous-sanguine temperament, and a decided military bearing, he carries us back to the old school of thorough-bred soldiers and statesmen of continental times. And if ancestry, birth, and breeding, if ability, activity, and integrity throughout the course of a long and checkered life, count for aught, then shall the name of William Gilpin forever be entitled to proud distinction.

He has a strong and retentive memory, a brilliant imagination, and an invigorating and elastic mind replete with learning. Both manners and intellect are redundant, even perhaps in some respects to eccentricity; but clear, and for the most part cool, collected, and sensible and practical. He has ever

been a great student, no less of nature than of books. It was during his travels in the mountains, with such books in his knapsack as the *Cosmos* of Humboldt, the *Vegetable Chemistry* of Liebig, *Tacitus*, *Shakspeare*, and *De Tocqueville's Democracy in America*, that the facts regarding their anatomy came to his mind, configurations, soils, climates, and the evolution of the race being almost continually in his thoughts.

In reading the published life of Governor Gilpin's ancestor, of three hundred years ago, Bernard, the Apostle of the North, I was struck by the similarity of many of their salient characteristics. "His person was tall and slender," the book goes on to say, "in the ornament of which he was at no pains. He had a peculiar aversion to the fopperies of dress. In his diet he was very temperate, rather abstemious. His parts were very good. His imagination, memory, and judgment were lively, retentive, and solid. His acquirements were as considerable. By an unwearied application he had amassed a great store of knowledge, and was ignorant of no part of learning at that time in esteem. His temper was actively warm; and in his youth we meet with instances of his giving way to passion; but he soon got more command of himself, and at length entirely corrected that infirmity. His disposition was serious, yet among his particular friends he was commonly cheerful, sometimes facetious. His general behavior was very affable. Never did virtue sit with greater ease on any one, had less moroseness, or could mix more agreeably with whatever was innocent in common life. He had a most extraordinary skill in the art of managing a fortune. Extravagance with him was another name for injustice. Amidst all his business he found leisure to look into his affairs, well knowing that frugality is the support of charity. His intimacies were but few. His sincerity was such as became his other virtues." Thus are the traits of a good man who lived three centuries back found so vividly reproduced in a descendant of to-day.

A later, and probably the most important literary work of his life, is *The Cosmopolitan Railway, Compacting and Fusing Together All the World's Continents*, published in 1891.

"The purpose of this book is to throw a stronger light upon an obscure region, and invest with fresh interest a fascinating subject. In the consummation of the grand scheme of a Cosmopolitan Railway will be forged another link in the great chain of progress, which is slowly, but surely, uniting in one race, one language, and one brotherhood all the people of the earth.

"It will unfold to man a field of new possibilities, such as from the beginning nature has ever been revealing, as the human intellect was prepared to understand them. For although nature abounds in resources, and is lavish of her gifts, it is for man, civilized man, to utilize and draw from them wealth to economize, and so multiply even these abundant resources."

Governor Gilpin is a good scholar; his learning is broad and deep, his fund of information remarkable. He is a striking speaker; with nervous energy and gesticulation he drives home his arguments, while his generalizations are most brilliant. Like Montaigne, knowing himself, the world, and books, he talks with much shrewdness, dealing throughout in the positive degree, and uses liberally sarcasm and invective.

"Intellect," says Plato, "is king of heaven and earth." The world of nature is at the disposition of mind; philosophy penetrates all surfaces, while inspiration sweeps them. Theories may be defective, but mountains and oceans remain. Nature gives the law; intellect perceives it.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY INFLUENCES DOMINATING THE NORTHWEST.

British and American Occupation—The Great Monopoly—Government, Society, and Progress of Oregon—Life of William S. Ladd—Boyhood and Education—Early Struggles—His Influence on the Destinies of Oregon—Marriage—Banking—Stock-raising—Phenomenal Success—His Benefactions—William M. Ladd—Characteristics.

The Northwest Coast, as the Oregon region was early called, had long been claimed by Spain on the ground of contiguity, and especially under the title of prior discovery and exploration, to which she had been driven by jealousy of Russian entry from Siberia. When its rich fur resources attracted trading fleets toward the close of the eighteenth century, she hastened once more to assert her sovereignty by seizing English vessels as intruders, and attempting to establish a fortified station at Nootka. The consequent dispute resulted in the convention of 1790, whereby the British were allowed to trade and settle on the coast at will, without prejudice to Spanish territorial claims. Spain cared little for this region, and finding mythical the long rumored strait to the Atlantic, which had been here her chief concern, and that her California colonies would evidently be safe for the present, she withdrew, making no further attempt to flaunt her colors in the north.

This abandonment left the field open to other nationalities, particularly traders from the United States, who soon absorbed most of the fur-gathering from the English vessels, suffering as these did under

the monopoly of the Oriental markets by the East India and South Sea companies. The trade was attended by official exploration on the part of their government, by an attempted colony under Winship, and by permanent establishments under Astor, whose aim was to eclipse the rival companies of Canada, to form a line of posts across the Rocky mountains, and gain glory as the founder of a United States Pacific empire. His expeditions established in 1811 the entrepôt Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia river, and then planted stations in the interior.

Meanwhile Canadian competitors had entered the same field, after a fierce rivalry on the eastern slope, first between the original French founders of the fur trade and the Hudson's Bay company, a struggle from which the latter issued triumphant by the cession in 1763 of all French territory to England. Now the strife burst forth among the British traders, or rather licensed associations, to which the crown restricted the business, vainly hoping thereby to check irresponsible disorders. Of these two stood preëminent the old Hudson's Bay company, and the recent Northwest company, the latter composed, in its active elements, of men selected with great care, by vote, for their experience and energy, backed by a few capitalists, who figured as agents and purveyors, and who took care to sustain the zeal of able workers by promotion and a share in the profits. The Northwest men quickly outstripped the older firm, encroaching upon the domain claimed as exclusive under a doubtful charter, advancing beyond it into the unexplored northwest, and finally crossing the Rocky mountains, establishing between 1805–10 several stations from Peace river to the Okanagan. War breaking out between England and the United States, they seized the opportunity to buy Astor's possessions, and obtain sole control of the new field.

Donald McTavish, one of the oldest members of the

company, came over to organize the new department of the Columbia. Bold and blunt, sincere as a friend, undisguised as a foe, he was skilled in the artifices of trade and Indian intercourse, and neglected no means to assure the one and harmonize the other. As interior manager he selected Donald McKenzie, lately of Astor's party, who subsequently became governor of the Red river colony, while men like D. W. Harmon attended to the New Caledonia district. Such was their success that by 1817 over 300 Canadians kept three vessels busy in bringing supplies, and transporting the peltry of this slope, and promised to afford scant opportunity for the rival company, which was then preparing to contest this field. The prospect of a renewal here of the bloody feuds marking the eastern competition, led the government to mediate, and the two opponents were united in 1821, under the title of the older name of the Hudson's Bay company, and with a license for exclusive trading in British hyperborean America for twenty-one years. This privilege was subsequently extended into the sixties, the crown retaining the right to cancel it, or to withdraw any tract for settlement, and to appoint magistrates and obtain the surrender of criminals. In 1869 the company transferred its territorial rights to the dominion of Canada for £300,000, reserving only a small tract round each station.

The company divided its domain into four departments, three in the east, and the fourth, that of the Columbia, comprising the Pacific slope. This was subdivided into the Oregon and Western, the former covering all of the subsequent United States territory, and these, in time, into eight districts, with thirty posts in 1857. The northern received the largest attendance of Indians, with the best and most abundant peltry, the south being valued chiefly for its beavers.

There were nine grades of offices and service, two more than in the Northwest company, headed by an American governor, residing at a central point in the

east, and subject only to the London governor and directors. Next to him stood the chief factors, twenty-five in number, in charge of departments or factories, and classed as full shareholders; third, the chief traders, or half shareholders, twenty-eight in number and in charge of important posts; fourth, chief clerks, in charge of union posts, or expeditions; fifth, apprenticed clerks, a kind of forest midshipmen; sixth, postmasters, usually promoted from the ranks, and often in charge of small posts; seventh, interpreters, generally laborers; eighth, voyagers or boatmen; ninth, laborers, who attended to any rough work, including artisans' tasks. The laborer could rise only to postmaster; but apprentices became, after five years of good service, entitled to a full clerkship; afterward they might be promoted to the rank of chief trader and factor, or even governor. The board of proprietors of the Northwest company had absorbed the office of governor, the latter term being applied to commanders of posts or districts. Chief factors were ex-officio members of the general council, seven, with the governor, forming a quorum, at some central point. At all principal stations a local council sat annually, composed of shareholders, to assign posts and duties, settle disputes, and punish infractions.

Higher servants, a title which none below the rank of postmaster could receive, enjoyed commissions in addition to a salary, the income of chief traders ranging between £400 and £800. Laborers received on an average £17 a year; apprentices began usually with £20, obtaining as clerks £100 or £150; some took rations instead of the usual board. No traffic for personal profit was allowed. Two factors and two traders might annually retire in rotation; wintering in the field for five years entitled them to half profits for six years; leave of absence was liberal. Subordinates must above all be obedient. The company managed to furnish their employés with Indian

wives, who must in return for their rations do some slight work. After the expiration of their term, fifty acres of land could be had on condition of a month's service annually for seven years, but this gave little hope for comfort or independence. Disobedience was punished with heavy fines, which often left little surplus from the pittance, and liquor and extravagance placed many at the mercy of the monopoly. The latter took its risks in the advances of goods and provisions to hunting parties of employés or Indians, the repayment of which depended generally on results. Most of the servants were Scotchmen, with a few Irishmen and fewer English, while the lower ranks were drawn chiefly from French Canadians and half-breeds. In 1846 there were over 500 articled men and 55 officers; but the total force was larger, reaching in 1857 about 3,000 men, the proprietors numbering nearly 240. Post commanders received appointment as justices of the peace from the crown, thus rendering the company additionally autocratic, for appeals were difficult to obtain.

Monopoly undoubtedly tended to serfdom among the employés, although business prudence checked injustice and maltreatment, and it also sought to keep back settlers and prevent farming or other civilizing agencies; they could make more money out of savagism. Decided advantages were, however, conveyed by licenced exclusiveness in the prudent administration of territorial wealth, and in the humane treatment of the natives with the attendant preservation of order and security, restriction of drunkenness, and the healthy emulation in hunting and purveying, with other practical incentives to industry and improved habits of life. The Spanish religio-military method of civilizing lacked the means of improvement, and reduced the native in position and ambition to a child, of which soldiers and the succeeding settlers took advantage, enslaving and teaching them vice. The Anglo-Americans were still worse in their selfish

dealings, when not controlled by hope of gain, using them as tools or regarding them as pests, partly from a fear of just retaliation from outrages; or driving the aboriginal holders by force from tracts desired for themselves. The United States government accepted them as wards, but surrendered them to the mercy of politicians and corrupt agents, who neglected to carry out stipulations. The British government kept better faith and more responsible agents.

The policy of the fur companies differed. They sought no gold or land; they depended upon the Indians for trade, for food, and for the safety of their scattered parties. Hence they courted them with gifts and credit, with considerate treatment, keeping all promises and threats. The conspicuous defect of the Indians was their disregard for property rights, which led to many other troubles. Harmonious and safe intercourse required this to be checked with inexorable strictness, yet without the wanton infliction upon guilty and innocent alike which has marked the Indian policy in general, and engendered wide ill-feeling. The United States has spent some five hundred million dollars and countless lives in wars, while in British territory, where Indians are amenable to and protected by law, bloody battles were rare. A common procedure on the part of the hunters was to interdict an offending tribe from all traffic, with its coveted liquor and baubles and blankets, until culprits were surrendered. This made the entire band jealously observant of the conduct of each member. Occasionally the effect of a cannon shot was demonstrated, or chiefs were seized for hostages. The threat to fire the powder magazine saved more than one post from attack, as did jugglery with pretended Pandora-boxes containing small-pox and other dreaded scourges. Intrigue was added to array tribes against one another, to prevent alliances, to withhold arms, to favor ambitious and friendly leaders above insolent chiefs, to tickle the vanity of influential men with

honors and authority to be exercised for the safety of whites, to circumvent the obdurate by winning over their children. Traders who had encountered trouble were also moved to other districts, so as to lessen the cause for discontent.

The company favored the taking of concubines or wives from among the Indians, mainly to win their alliance or good will, and partly to obtain half-breed servants, who could be relied upon for their devotion to the fur-traders, and for their influence with the natives. The half-breeds generally unite the aboriginal sluggishness of mind with civilized proclivities to drink and disease, those of French descent being more frivolous than children of staid Scotchmen. In the far interior, they enjoy a contented position, despite their lack of practical energy, but with the approximation of Anglo-Saxon settlers, they begin to feel their inferiority and bitter disadvantage.

Liquor-dealing was not advocated, because it undermined the industry and efficiency of the natives as hunters, and made them quarrelsome, but its potency as a medium for trade was unequalled; with the field to itself, however, the Hudson's Bay company generally suppressed the traffic.

Under consolidated sway, the administration of the fur-traders upon the slope assumed a fresh and vigorous phase. In 1818, the United States' flag was raised anew and officially over Astoria, without prejudice to territorial claims over the Northwest coast, to which the citizens of both the contending nations were to have free access until later negotiations should decide the title. Nevertheless, the British assumed that the southern region must fall to their opponent, and that the Columbia would be the boundary. With this idea, and the natural objection of living under a foreign flag at Astoria, the Hudson's Bay company, in 1825, founded new headquarters at Fort Vancouver, on the north bank of the river, selecting a fertile

site opposite the Willamette, central for interior operations along this great boat route, and adapted for a prospective capital. Agriculture was started here, and toward Puget sound, on a scale sufficient to meet an export trade to Alaska and the Hawaiian islands. At the latter point, an agency was opened for exchanging flour, lumber, and fish for groceries and other necessaries, and at San Francisco bay another branch, to barter European goods for hides, tallow, and peltries. The market among the Russians, northward, for imported as well as home products, was increased by the lease of the southern shore line of Alaska, which permitted also the more energetic British traders to encroach upon districts beyond, and outbid the Russians. These and other measures served to sustain the large revenue drawn from the Pacific slope. While the returns from the posts in Oregon declined, stations were advanced into the remote north by way of compensation.

The supreme board of directors at London had little influence upon the management of the American field, so long as revenues were maintained, if possible with prudent dignity and order. Experience had shown them that trade must be left largely to find its own channels, guided by men directly engaged therein. Hence, even the superior council and governor residing on the Canadian slope gave only general directions and suggestions, leaving to annual local meetings the more essential as well as subordinate control.

This governor was George Simpson, a natural son of the uncle of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer, who gaining the good-will of the earl of Selkirk's family, was given an appointment in the Hudson's Bay company's service. He needed nothing more; a bright, clear intellect and native shrewdness did the rest, sustained by a strong constitution and physique, not exactly imposing, but of a medium size, well-knit, with redundant animal spirits reflected in the finely chiselled features and clear blue eye. He ad-

vanced quickly, to the position of governor of a district in 1820, and soon after to governor-in-chief. Entering upon work when the association was prostrated by long and ruinous competition, by his keenness and activity he brought order out of confusion, and raised the company to the highest pitch of prosperity. Absolute in many respects, he was responsible only to the board at London. In 1839 he received a baronetcy for his services in organizing the Arctic expedition under Dease and Simpson. He bought Isle Durnal, for a place of abode, and built there a splendid residence, where, in 1860, he extended the courtesies of the company to the prince of Wales. He died the following year.

Simpson crossed the Rocky mountains on three occasions, in 1824, to reorganize the department, in 1828–9, and in 1841. He suggested many improvements, and approved the plans for carrying trade to the adjoining coasts. On the first and second journeys he returned as he came, across the British Columbia section of the Rocky mountains; the third journey was extended to Alaska, California, and the Hawaiian islands, and through Siberia to Russia, round the world, as published in his *Narrative*. His journey was like the march of a monarch, with a numerous train, and with salvos, bunting, and processions at the stations, particularly at St James, the capital of western Caledonia, and at Vancouver. It was well to impress the attending native tribes with such pomp, and the fort-dwellers were only too glad of such diversion. At the Islands receptions were tendered by Sir J. H. Pelly, sometime the London governor of the Hudson's Bay company, who was succeeded by A. Colville, the patron of Simpson.

The Pacific had also its governor, who, owing to remoteness from Canada and direct communication with London, became quickly the most prominent of the department commanders, and in time almost independent of the American governor-in-chief, and

accountable to the directory. At this period of the consolidation, the charge at Fort St George or Astoria was held by James Keith, partner in the Northwest company, who was now given the superintendency of the Montreal department. He soon retired to Aberdeen, Scotland, with a fortune, and married, there to meet his death by slipping upon an orange peel, after passing unscathed through the perils of a long career in wild and savage lands.

His successor, John McLaughlin of Fort Francis, Rainy lake, arrived on the Columbia in 1824, in company with Governor Simpson, with plans for reörganization. He had entered the service of the Northwest company early in the century as physician; but a quick perception and natural aptitude for business commended him to the management for various commissions, and he gradually abandoned drugs for peltries. Bright and educated, he stood conspicuous above the mercenary fur-trader or coarse immigrant, and impressed white men and red-skins alike by his commanding intellect and presence. Body, mind, and heart were all carved in gigantic proportions. His tall, powerful figure, over six feet in height was usually arrayed in black, and crowned with long snow-white locks, which made singularly appropriate the name of White Eagle given him by the natives. His associates styled him the Emperor of the West. His eye bore indeed the eagle stamp, fiery at times with rare momentary outbursts, but more frequently beaming with innate goodness of heart. His influence over the savages was remarkable. Before his coming the coast was not safe except for armed bands. His wise and benign policy changed this, and transformed the savage into a steadfast friend. He treated him as a human being, not forgetting he was but a child; and as to a child he spoke to him, kindly yet firmly, rewarding the deserving, punishing the wrong-doer, surely if not severely. Equally strict was he over the company's servants.

In some directions he displayed the Englishman's fondness for pomp, chiefly in the presence of the natives. He was given to sociability and free-heartedness; nor would he tolerate profanity or inappropriate levity. So determined was he in character, and so bent upon having his own way when he knew it to be right, that the directory at London had difficulty in controlling him. Unswerving in integrity, he was no less so in following the path outlined by conscience, in the interests of justice and humanity.

On his arrival he was chief trader, but was soon made chief factor, and not long afterward governor of all the Hudson's Bay company's affairs west of the Rocky mountains, with ever increasing power and importance. He deserved indeed this confidence, for little fault was found in him save a questioning of the policy of combining with fur-trading agricultural and other pursuits, undoubtedly profitable, yet in the end fatal to exclusiveness. One other so-called infirmity was his humane treatment of the United States immigrants, which created the outcry that he was becoming more American than English, more farmer than trader. Blind to the fact that Yankee immigration was inevitable and resistance futile, so that a considerate attitude was politic as well as humane, the shareholders called for a less philanthropic manager. As a primary step to his deposal, they associated with him in the management two other members; and then, on the strength of certain unfavorable reports, made partly by his colleague and protégé, Douglas, they undertook to reprimand him. He resigned, and retired in the spring of 1846 to Oregon city, where he died eleven years later, embittered by misplaced confidence and litigation. Like most fur-trading officials, he took to himself a chief's daughter, whom he subsequently married under clerical prompting. His daughters married prominent traders. John McLaughlin was too great and good a man successfully to serve a monopoly.

Lying to the northwest of the United States, between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific ocean, and extending northward from the forty-second parallel of latitude, is situated the vast region to which was given in early days the name of Oregon, an appellation now applied to about one-third of the original area. A glance at the physical features of the present state of Oregon will result in the recognition of an extreme diversity of surface and consequent variety of climate. Intersected longitudinally by the lofty Cascade range, and transversely in the northeastern portion of the state by the Blue mountains, the country presents wide variations in configuration, soil, and resources.

West of the Cascade range, between it and a lower chain which rims the seaboard, stretches from north to south the beautiful and fertile valley of the Willamette, into which open innumerable others of smaller size, like the affluents of some great river. In the south lie the devious valleys of the Umpqua and Rogue rivers, resting in a conglomeration of hills and mountains, the silent proofs of terrestrial turmoil. East of the Cascade range extend elevated plains, some rich in pasture grounds for cattle, others waterless and barren. Still farther east, among the Blue mountains, and beyond them to Snake river, lies a mining region intersected with cañons and innumerable gulches and small streams. There are forests also, not spread over vast areas of level surface, but covering the mountain sides, and the lowlands along the rivers and streams. Few countries, in the distribution of woodlands and prairies can offer more attractions and greater advantages to the agriculturalist than western Oregon.

Previous to 1834, there were no people in this country, except a few Canadian settlers in the Willamette valley, who were retired servants of the Hudson's Bay company. Nature was bountiful to the Indians of Oregon in her supplies of subsistence.

Herds of elk and deer pastured in great numbers in the valley meadows; bears were plentiful in the forests; water-fowl of many kinds were abundant; and the woods and groves dotting the prairies were rich in wild fruits and berries, and alive with game birds, grouse, pheasant, and quail. The rivers were well stocked with salmon, and the streams and brooks with trout. Such were the natural resources.

The people to whom all this was originally given may be divided into three classes, namely, those of the coast, those of the mountains, and those of the plains. Each class exhibited marked characteristics, consequent upon surroundings, habits of life, and food. Lowest in the scale were the coast dwellers, the mountaineers and people of the plains being both above them. Hearing of the Christians, and how heaven favors them, four Flathead chiefs went to St Louis about 1832, and asked for teachers. Two years later, the methodists sent missionaries, who, instead of the rugged Flathead country, chose for a mission site the Willamette valley, near the settlements of the Canadians, with other stations elsewhere. The presbyterians next erected buildings near Fort Walla Walla. Missionary work did not pay, however, either with the white men or the red; whereupon the apostles to this region began to attend more to their own affairs than to the saving of savage souls. They broke up their establishments in 1844, and henceforth became a political clique, whose chief aim was to acquire other men's property.

Meantime colonization set in, encouraged by the aspiring missionaries. As long as the boundary question remained undetermined, the position of the settlers was anomalous. They were on debatable ground; neither the United States nor the British government could extend jurisdiction over them. Some form of rule was necessary, and in 1843 a provisional government was organized. Political factions followed. There was the methodist party, which hoped to con-

trol affairs, and the catholic party, determined it should not if the latter could help it. Among the settlers, numbers of influential persons were opposed to the formation of a government, so long as peace and harmony existed, while the new settlers did not relish the idea of a governor being appointed from the methodist missionaries. Again, others objected to the scheme on the ground that the majority of the population being catholic would elect officers of that creed. The methodists, however, by the exercise of some diplomacy, carried the day.

In 1845 three thousand persons arrived, doubling the white population. The same underlying causes for this migratory movement existed as in the previous years, namely, dissatisfaction with home, want of a market, and distance from the sea; to which may be added antagonism to the British, and a determination not to allow that nation to come into possession of Oregon. This and other migrations were worked up by eastern politicians to save Oregon to the United States, as they termed it. With their representations of rich lands for nothing, they induced a large number of persons to emigrate.

In 1846 the boundary question was decided, and Oregon became a portion of the United States; in August 1848 the territory of Oregon was created by congress. The slavery question caused delay. Meantime Oregon was engaged in a bloody contest with hostile Indians.

The people of Oregon at this time were industrious, honest, and hospitable. They constituted a new and novel community, whose condition and requirements evoked a moral tone. They had to labor in order to live; most of the settlers having passed through the ordeal of destitution on their arrival, and having been received with generous assistance, were ready to extend the same to others. In due time came prosperity. Their farms yielded grain and vegetables abundantly; cattle and sheep were brought from California.

Some little trade was carried on with the Hawaiian islands, but it was of small benefit to the farmers, owing to the exclusiveness of the Hudson's Bay company's rules, which made it obligatory that their vessels should carry none but the cargoes of the company. As their vessels were almost the only ones at this time plying up and down the coast, and to and from Honolulu, the want of means for exportation was severely felt. A few other vessels there were belonging to merchants, who adopted the same rule, refusing to take freight on shipper's account. They were thus able to keep down the price of wheat, and load their vessels with it at small cost, to their own great profit. Thus the flouring mills and granaries were overstocked, while lumber and shingles were made in quantities that could not be disposed of. Much inconvenience, also, was caused by the nature of the currency, which consisted of government scrip, orders on merchants, and drafts on wheat; for of gold and silver coin there was hardly any. But a change in the condition of affairs was near.

When the news of the gold discovery in California reached Oregon, quite an excitement followed. Many went southward, while some increased their productions to meet an extended market. Henceforth Oregon had nothing to complain of as regards her trade and industries. But apart from material advantages derived from the gold discovery, a change was effected in the habits of the people. An advance was made from straitened circumstances, necessitating thrift and economy, to a more comfortable prosperity. Had California continued to plod along in her former pastoral life, Oregon would have long remained in a measure isolated. The settlers' children with poor educational facilities, would not be what they now are, intelligent and enterprising. Another consequence of the rush to California was the exploration of the southern portion of Oregon, the discovery of gold there, as well as in the region east of the

Cascade range, the influx of new comers, the founding of towns, and the settlement of the Umpqua and Rogue river valleys. This consummation was not accomplished without trouble from the savages.

In September 1850 a donation act was passed, granting 640 acres to each married settler, a citizen of the United States or intending to become such, and 320 acres to a single man. At a later date amendatory acts were passed which provided that the widows of men, who had they lived would be entitled to claim under the act, were granted all that their husbands would have been entitled to had they lived; and to each of the orphan children of the earliest settlers 160 acres were granted. Any immigrant who became a resident before December 1850, could avail himself of the privileges of the donation law, and the opportunity thus presented of obtaining land free of cost attracted no small number of immigrants, and materially aided in developing agriculture.

With regard to British possessory rights, which according to the terms of the treaty were to be respected, so undefined were their claims, and so determined were the American squatters, that the Hudson's Bay Company was glad to sell to the United States for what it could get. In 1853 the region north of the Columbia was segregated, and the territory of Washington created. When Oregon was made a territory, the local political cliques declined, and the two great national parties, the whigs and democrats, came forward. For a time the democrats dominated; and it was not until 1857 that the republicans, who had taken the place of the whigs, began to lift up their heads. The democratic party had so conducted affairs during the Indian war of 1855–6, as to alienate a number of influential supporters. The question of admission as a state arising, the point to be determined was as to whether it should be a free or a slave state.

In 1859 Oregon was admitted into the union as a

free state. As the time approached when the great struggle between the north and south was to commence, anti-slavery ideas gained ground; and in the election of 1860 the state went republican, and continued in favor of the union throughout the war. After the conclusion of the war the political elements gradually readjusted themselves, and democracy again became dominant. While the contest lasted, the state had to depend on her own resources for defence against the Indians, who were hostile in eastern Oregon, which had been opened by the discovery of mines on the John Day and Powder rivers, and in Idaho. Several campaigns had to be undertaken for their subjugation, not always attended with success. There followed the Shoshone war in 1866–8, succeeded later by other troubles with the natives, whom it was difficult to keep on the reservations to which from time to time they were removed.

But these troubles, though grievous at the time, could not arrest the onward march of the young state. Agriculture on the west side of the Cascade range, and cattle-raising on the east, have progressed since 1870 in an extraordinary degree; flocks of sheep pasture on the mountain slopes and hills, and wool has become one of the staple productions of the country. Coal mines are worked in the neighborhood of Coos bay, quartz mining is carried on in the northeastern portion of the state, and gravel mining by the hydraulic process in the southwestern. Hand in hand with agricultural and pastoral success the manufacturing industries have advanced. Saw and flouring mills continue their great work; foundries and machine shops are increasing; commerce has expanded in due proportion.

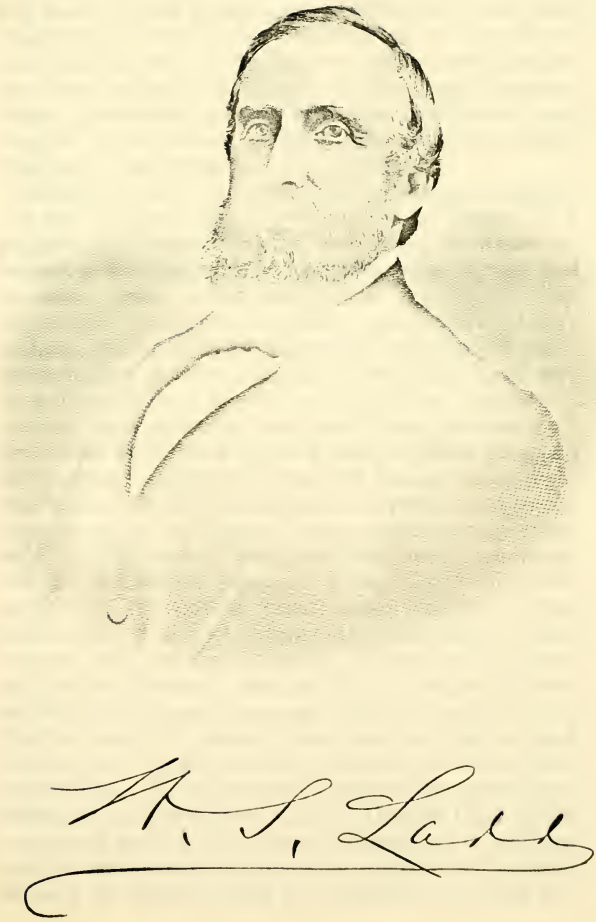
In a social point of view progress is equally marked. Universities and colleges have been founded; a public school system has been brought to high perfection; benevolent institutions have been erected; and societies and associations have been organized, all tending

to the advancement of the state. Libraries, churches, and a widely extended press exercise their usual influence as factors in the elevation of the people. A spirit of brotherhood in public benefactions was early displayed, leading to the most beneficial results.

And here we may find it profitable to pause in this analysis, and give one or two examples from among the individual experiences of those who came early hither to take a part in the building of this commonwealth, to supplement the work of those who had reclaimed the country from savagism as well as from British sovereignty, and assist in and carry forward that marvellous development which has placed the state of Oregon in one of the most enviable of positions.

The missionaries and pioneer settlers of the northwest did much to secure the country to the United States. Had there been no movement of the kind, England would have extended her claim over the whole territory with a fair prospect of making it her own. But the missionaries and farmers alone never would have made Oregon; they never would have poured out wealth so lavishly to erect churches, establish institutions of learning, make roads, clear the streams for navigation, and build a beautiful metropolis. The early merchants of Portland were the principal builders of the commonwealth of Oregon, particularly in its later development. It was, indeed, some time before the merchants themselves could enlarge their field and enter upon this comprehensive work; they had first to make their wealth. The growth of the country about them was slow, and it suffered a long period of isolation; but there was a quiet power and depth of purpose inherent in these men such as are sure in the end to outstrip evanescent effort, no matter how strong or brilliant it may be.

William Sargent Ladd took a place among these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men of character at once, and from the time he secured a foothold he has gone forward in advance of many other competitors, doing more as a builder for himself and family, and in so doing contributing more to the growth of the country than most other large factors in his community; so that at the close of the year 1889 he was clearly recognized as the most prominent figure in the northwestern states, possessing greater resources and power, and capable of exercising greater influence and control than any other citizen in that section.

Seldom is seen preëminently conspicuous throughout the incipent stages and later development of a progressive commonwealth, one man to whom is accorded continuously a foremost place by general consent. New countries, under the latter day impulses of steam and electricity, go forward often in plunges, rather than in the steady advance of older communities, so that during the period of a quarter or half century it is not unusual to find the men of strength and influence rising and falling by the way, new issues being met by new leaders, those who laid the earlier foundations of society feeling their hold on affairs gradually relaxing as time runs on. Oregon is an exception to the rule, in the colonization particularly of gold-bearing lands, and Mr Ladd is an exception to the rule in Oregon. True, others who came earlier to the country took their position in the front rank, and, with integrity unimpaired, lived honored and successful lives. There are four men, who arrived there in the spring of 1851, who have probably done more than any other four men on the Pacific coast to elevate the tone of politics and society, and keep pure the moral sentiment of the community. Proportionately more of the prominent merchants and bankers of early Oregon than of the prominent early Californians retained their grip on destiny, and controlled themselves and their business in such a way, as still to be able to control the

affairs of the country up to the later period of their lives. Those who now are proud to call themselves Oregonians, came originally to Oregon to do exactly what they have done—to Americanize the country, and prepare the soil for the growth of free and enlightened institutions, on which to rear intelligent and virtuous societies.

Such species of colonization has been the good fortune of the eastern seaboard, but the fate of by far the largest portions of North America has been at the first to draw in a population coveting only immediate wealth, people from all quarters of the globe, intent on securing gold or furs, or encomiendas, for their quick enrichment, then to depart and enjoy their wealth elsewhere, caring nothing for the country or as to what should become of it thereafter. The effect of the high integrity and pure lives and spirit of home-building of some of the leading men of Portland, and other cities and towns throughout the state, which have naturally made the metropolis their model in the various lines of development, has been most beneficial. In the accumulation of wealth, power, and position there is a selfishness that considers only the individual and his more immediate belongings; and again, there is a nobler selfishness which ever guards the purity of society and the best interests of the state.

The name of Ladd, or Lade—both spellings belong distinctly to the same family—is essentially a Kentish name. It is found, originally, nowhere beyond the limits of county Kent and county Sussex, England, and all the documents point to the existence of but one family of Ladd previous to the 17th century. The origin of the name cannot be precisely determined, either as to date or the circumstances that suggested it. In fact the source of most Anglo-Saxon family names can rarely be determined satisfactorily, even where special pride or peculiar circumstances have tended to keep their genealogical history clear.

It is noteworthy that people of this blood, which is that which gives character and body to civilization in the United States, have looked more to the substance of things than to the details of heraldry; in contrast with the people of Latin origin, especially the Spaniards, who devote more time and care to such history than any other nationality. I commend them for it, though I am aware that if it comes to a question of work or the genealogical tree, they always lean toward the latter. Our people incline the other way; too much so, perhaps. The later day scions of Anglo-Saxon stock on this side of the Atlantic have, as a rule, rather acted on the idea that a man's life begins and ends with himself, which is not true in philosophy or in fact. The popular spirit prevails in our society and government, and a man's name, of itself alone, gives him no title to consideration. This is as it should be; and I hope the day will never come in this republican land of ours when it shall be otherwise. But there is an aristocracy of character in the United States, as well as in every other country inhabited by mankind, regardless of rank or condition. True worth everywhere gives vitality to the name of its possessor. By his usefulness and example he makes the name he bears honorable; it commands respect and has a force peculiar to itself. As an expression of definition of the man, his name becomes by virtue of his career a living power. A good name fairly earned is not less prized in America than in Europe, for pride of character, which is inseparable from pride of name, is universal, natural, and manly. It is only just that a fair name acquired in a republic should be as scrupulously guarded and as highly appreciated as anywhere else under the sun. Distinction achieved through talent and industry, and crystalized in a name is a sacred inheritance. There is no other heirloom half so precious. It is the duty and should be the ambition of those to whom it descends to honor it by maintaining it in its integrity and, if possible,

by enhancing its lustre by their own efforts. History abounds in incidents of virtue, courage and heroism to which men have been inspired by regard for a name inherited. I can conceive no motive for enterprise that is more just, no incentive to good works that is more commendable than this. In the acquisition of a good name through the vicissitudes of toil and struggle, a force is engendered that ought to be comprehended and preserved. To the extent that such a force or power is appreciated, it is a tonic. It is helpful in religion and morals, society and government. Wendell Phillips, who was one of the fairest exponents of the republican spirit that ever lived, charges us to garner up the experiences of our ancestry. Says he: "I can conceive of nothing more unfortunate than a lack of desire to understand the early foundations of our societies, or to explore the sources of individual power, which are the sum of national greatness. To neglect the merits of our fathers is a disgrace." Hence no one is called upon to apologize for cherishing a worthy family name. I should rather say it is inexcusable not to foster such an influence for the good that it is capable of at home and abroad, now and forever. Even if it only encourages others to go and do likewise, this of itself is a lesson from real life. It is an argument which every sensible young man heeds, because it interests and convinces him. It has been said that there is nothing in a name. Yet, withal, Archbishop Trench, certainly a high authority, says: "One word will often be found to contain more history than the narrative of an entire campaign." Sometimes a single word properly studied furnishes a text in morals which may be expanded into a better sermon than those ordinarily preached. And if this be true, how potent is a name about which cluster the associations of a long, active, and valuable life—a name which is the index to character. There is a charm in the very labor of tracing it to its source.

The estate of Bowyck in the Hundred of Boringsborough and the parish of Eleham was in very ancient times the residence of the Ladds. It is definitely known that this estate was in possession of the Ladds before the time of Henry VI, as various wills mentioning the fact executed by members of the family are still to be found in the prerogative office Canterbury.

Thomas Ladd died in possession of Bowyck Manor in 1515; so did his grandson, Vincent, in 1563. It passed, in 1601, through the marriage of Sylvester Ladd, daughter and co-heiress of Vincent Ladd, into the Nethersole family.

In 1730 John Ladd, a direct descendant of the above Vincent, was created a baronet by George II. In the next generation the baronetcy became extinct.

These facts are obtained from the following authorities: *W. H. Ireland's History of Kent*, 1, 199; *Hasted's Kent*, 11, 815; *Berry's Kent Geologies*, 342; *Berry's Sussex Geologies*, 248; *J. and J. B. Burke's History of Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1844.*

The *America Heraldica*, published in the year 1889, records the coming to America of Daniel Ladd and John Ladd, the former arriving in New England in 1623, and the latter in New Jersey, with other members of the Society of Friends in 1678. It is safe to assume, from documentary evidence already referred to, that these early immigrants, from whom many descendants have come, were from one and the same Kentish family originally. The early court records of Gloucester county give a connected history of the Ladd family in England, but prior to the dates referred to, little is known definitely.

John Ladd was a practical surveyor and, it is said, was employed by William Penn in laying out the city of Philadelphia, the tradition being that when he produced his bill for services rendered to the patroon, he declined to receive in payment a square of land in

what is now the heart of the city, preferring £35 sterling instead, which was the amount of his bill.

In 1688 John Ladd located a large tract of land in Gloucester county, comprising about 6,000 acres, and on it built a dwelling, known in the family as Candor Hall. For two or three generations a portion of this tract, about 2,000 acres, has been known as the Howell estate, coming into the latter family by the devise of John Ladd, junior, to John Ladd Howell, a son of Katherine Ladd, who married John Howell.

At the time of his death, John Ladd, as is shown by his operations in land, was one of the largest holders of real estate in the colony. He was also a man of good education, and held positions of responsibility.

He held a prominent place in the society of Friends; and although he adhered to plainness of dress and simplicity of habit, yet about his home could be seen evidence of things generally attendant upon wealth and liberality. His slaves, his plentiful board and his well-appointed household showed that the creature comforts were not neglected.

The grandson of his daughter Katherine, Joshua Ladd Howell, finally inherited the Candor Hall property, afterwards named by him Fancy Hall, by which title it has been known ever since, and a large part of the tract still remains in the Howell family.

The history of Daniel Ladd has not been written, except in the lives of his later descendants, whose traits, derived from him, would indicate that he was no less substantial in character than his relative John Ladd.

We have in William Sargent Ladd a conspicuous reproduction of those qualifications which have characterized the founders of his name—qualifications that have enabled him to give fresh vigor to it in a new country.

When Mr Ladd arrived in Oregon the country was young and strong; so was the man. Society was

immature and impressionable, and the young man's character was early stamped into it, as the image and superscription upon true metal, which should determine its value. He exercised at once a powerful, though unconscious, force for good. He was one of the four of 1851, reaching Portland on the 8th of April.

He was then in the twenty-fifth year of his age, having been born in Holland, in the northern part of Vermont, on the 10th of October, 1826. Full six feet in height, slim, sinewy, weight say 125 pounds, with large head well set on broad shoulders, high forehead of intellectual cast, dark brown hair, large and well-lighted gray eyes set back under prominent arched eyebrows, fine Grecian nose, and well-outlined mouth and chin, he dropped himself upon the bank of the Willamette like another Siegfried, whose presence should go far to dispel the gloom of moral mists incident to the approaching transformation.

Back in his old home, during the period of adolescence, he had been preparing himself for the battle of life, this very preparation forbidding him to remain at ease away from the conflict. His father was Nathaniel Gould Ladd, a man whose life and character are worthy of notice. Like all other New England boys of his generation, he was brought up in an atmosphere of labor and economy, a waste of substance and time being looked upon as disgraceful and ruinous. Labor was respectable and idleness a sin; frugality was part of the moral law, the fear of God governing all. It was a severe school, but it turned out men equal in body and mind to endure any hardship and overcome any obstacle; men who have been conservators of the country in every emergency, and the foremost agents in enterprise, invention and progress. Among them there was no distinction, except that which was based upon merit; no royal road to preferment. The soil was unfriendly, the climate inhospitable; a necessitous region, in

which the struggle of living began almost at the cradle. It has sometimes seemed to me that providence ordained this condition of things just so, in order that men of iron frame, indomitable spirit and severe morality might grow up in New England as a nursery from which to go out in their strength to settle and build up civilization in the wildernesses and waste places of the United States.

In this school of toilers Nathaniel Ladd, who was to offer a son of typical character for this work, was reared. He learned the lessons of his times well, both in manual labor and in the rudiments taught in the district school. He was ambitious beyond the rest of his companions, and not being contented to live the life of a farmer, he helped himself to higher education. By working at whatever his hands found to do in the spring and summer, he saved enough money to pay for attendance upon medical lectures in the winter, until he was entitled to and obtained his diploma as physician and surgeon in the medical department of Dartmouth college. He was very proud of the profession and grew strong in it, acquiring a large practice. He was a man of angles, possessing very little of what is styled policy. He was outspoken and blunt, and would never cater to the people to promote his practice. It was not in his nature to humor his patients, especially if they thought they were sick and he knew they were not. He was radical in his thinking, and had decided convictions on all matters that engaged his attention; in the maintenance of a principle he was independent and fearless, never stopping to count the cost of his words or his acts. Human slavery was revolting to his sense of manhood and justice, and he was an abolitionist at a time when it was anything but popular or politic to advocate such a sentiment. Convinced that it was a sin and a crime for one human being to hold another in bondage, he never hesitated, at any time or place, to stand up in defense

of this humane doctrine. He was severe in his ideas of right and wrong, and would never resort to or tolerate in others anything indirect or frivolous; a hard man in some respects, but conscientiously so. In whatever appeared to him to be right he was inflexible. In the government of his children, of whom he had ten, he applied the same discipline as that which he himself had passed through. "A healthy mind in a healthy body" was his ambition for them, and he did not conceive that it could be secured in any other way but that by which he had attained it. His dictum was that labor and study should go forward together hand in hand. As exemplified in himself, it had much to commend it. He was a small man in stature, but perfect in health, strong and active. He was still an athlete when over sixty years of age. He was very desirous that his son William should study medicine, but there were reasons why this was not to be—primarily, perhaps, on account of the manner in which it was proposed he should pursue his studies. The truth is that Doctor Ladd, without realizing it, was rigorous in the matter. He had ample means to educate his son in such a manner as would have made his proposed medical studies agreeable, but he saw no other mould for his son than the one in which he had been formed for the profession. It was not, I apprehend, that he was disposed to be ungenerous, so far as the expenditure of money was concerned, but that he thought it best for the boy to travel over the same rocky road that he had traveled to become a practitioner, and that any milder process would be to cheapen it in his son's appreciation and really to render it less valuable than it ought to be.

His wife, whose maiden name was Abigail Kelley Mead, was a native of New Hampshire, born August 7, 1806, his own birthday being July 13, 1798. He died at an advanced age, but at the close of 1889 his widow was still living, at Malden, Massachusetts, and, considering her great age, was well preserved. She

was of a modest, retiring disposition, and an exemplary member of the methodist church, to which her husband also belonged. She was quiet and undemonstrative, devoting her whole life to her family, and doing otherwise whatever good it was in her power to do. Her only apparent temporal ambition was that her children should grow up to be moral, religious and useful members of society. She was of very devout temperament, and it would have gratified her if her sons had become active ministers of the gospel in the methodist church. Her influence over her children was that of sympathy and affection, and very marked by reason of the example she set them. In personal appearance and way of living she did not differ greatly from many other good women of New England. Her family were among the very early settlers of that section of the country, whose characteristics for morality, thrift and intelligence have been eulogized by almost every American writer of note. Of her it need only be said that in her sphere she did her whole duty. Had her responsibilities been greater and her opportunities proportionate to them, it is not unlikely that she would have developed capabilities that were latent and not perceived. The only criterion, therefore, by which she could be judged was her surroundings. Her larger life may more properly be looked for in that of her children, whose field of labor has afforded them an opportunity for the development of that which is good in them and inherited from her. The virtues transmitted to them from her and confirmed in them by her example during life have probably been more instrumental than any other moral agency in forming their character and influencing their lives. Her impression upon her son William is unmistakable; for while he appears to be the counterpart of his father in decision of character, aggressiveness and will power, underlying these his mother's affectionate temper, religious fervor and sympathy with her fellow-beings are stamped upon him. The characters

of parents are thus constantly repeated in their children, though in such a manner as sometimes to escape the notice of the superficial observer. Acts of affection, discipline, industry and self-control which they daily exemplify live and act when all else that may have been learned has long been forgotten.

When William was about four years of age his parents first moved to Meredith village, New Hampshire, and three years later to a place called Sanbornton Bridge, in the same state, now known as Tilton, a village comprising two manufactories, two or three stores, two blacksmith shops, two wheelwright shops and the postoffice, with farms all around it. There the boy was reared and taught in those ways of body and mind which lead to success. There were good educational facilities in the place, which had a free school and an academy. Afterward a seminary was established there. William went to school during the winter, the rest of the year making himself useful in whatever way he could. This was the idea prevailing at that time as to how a boy should get an education. He could fairly compass what was to be taught in the schools of his neighborhood by studying at that season of the year when boys could be best spared from the farm—that is, in the winter; in other words, it was considered a matter of course that he should earn his tuition.

Doctor Ladd could readily have kept his son at school continuously during the year, but to do so was in conflict with the spirit of the times and contrary to his own views of utility, besides his ideas of thrift and saving were extreme, and if it had been suggested to him that his son should go to school uninterruptedly he would not have been able to see anything in it less than a violation of the laws of economy—such economy as makes men independent and self-reliant, but has a tendency also to make them hard and unsympathetic.

William was an apt scholar and fairly diligent, but

he was never cut out for a bookworm or a "dig," as the word is in college parlance nowadays; still, being a boy of good parts, he got his lessons with little difficulty, and always stood among the first in his class. Ideas he grasped readily, and when he came to demonstrating he knew what he was talking about. Some of his classmates depended upon him largely. A story is told of a heedless fellow who stood near him in the class one day, and when it came his turn to read he encountered a hard word that he could not pronounce. In a whisper he asked Ladd what it was. "Skip it," was the reply, also in a whisper. Being confused, and also convinced that anything Bill told him was right, he read the word as he got it from the latter's lips—"Skip it."

Young Ladd was full of animal spirit, and after having faithfully done the tasks set for him, he delighted to take part with the other boys in the sports that were in vogue at that time, and he played as he worked, with all his might. He was among the first to start and among the last to stop. He was very popular with his companions, and they would come around frequently and help him out with his "stint"—a word which we seldom hear now, but which was full of meaning then and there—in order that he might go with them to the ballground. It has been stated that his father wanted him to be a doctor, but he did not take kindly to medicine. His sympathetic nature made him dread contact with distress and pain such as the practitioner encounters; this, however, was his boyish idea of it; besides, the manner in which it was proposed that he should be educated for the profession did not offer him a pleasant prospect. His real ambition was to be a sailor and work himself up to the command of a ship; but back of this he was full of energy, active and eager to go out into the world and do something on his own account. These are the reasons why he did not follow in the professional footsteps of his father and become,

perhaps, a fixture in the neighborhood or state, in which it is hardly credible that he could have grown to such large usefulness as characterizes his life in the northwest, even though fortune had favored him and he had won a most commanding position in his native state. William would have gone to college, because other boys whose parents were no better off than his were sent there, but it was his father's theory that Latin could be learned at home as well as at college, so William was given this task to perform under the paternal roof coupled with such exactions that he finally lost all relish whatever for this classic.

It was not until he was fifteen years of age that William was really made to apply himself in earnest to labor; and then, the father having no farm of his own, let the boy try his hand at a neighbor's, who worked him very hard, calling him at half-past three in the morning, and keeping him going until eight or nine o'clock before the milking would be done. As the man for whom he worked paid him little or nothing, the father thought the boy's labor might as well be bestowed on land of his own as on that of another. So he bought fifteen acres of land on which were possibilities for labor equal to any other fifteen acres in New Hampshire. It was the roughest, rockiest and stumpiest spot that could be found in all that region, and William was set to work to clear it up. He had some help, but what was the help of one or two men when the rocks grew faster and faster the more the land was tilled. Nevertheless, those fifteen acres were made, in time, to yield wheat, oats, corn, hay and potatoes more than many another fifty acres thereabout.

Reaching the age of nineteen an unexpected honor was thrust upon the youth. Few New England boys or girls of moderate fortune have escaped the *experimentum crucis* of school-teaching at some period of their lives. One winter's day, on going to school as usual, the professor in charge called him and

requested him to step into the vestibule for a moment, where he introduced him to two strangers. "These gentlemen," said the professor, "are from Loudon, and they want a school-teacher for their district."

"I do not see how I can help them," said Ladd.

"The place is offered to you," continued the professor.

"But I have no desire to teach school," Ladd replied, "besides I am not competent."

"I will vouch for your ability," urged the professor.

"What school is it?" exclaimed Ladd, now becoming interested. On being told, he replied, "Oh, yes; nice place; three teachers already pitched out this winter." It fact the school was notorious as the roughest in all that region, with quite a fighting record. The young man accepted the place, however, undaunted by the difficulties he knew he had to encounter. He had a curiosity to see how he would behave when cornered by boys and girls bigger and stronger than himself. Besides he wanted to make a record for the honor of the district he represented.

Meanwhile tidings of the new turn in affairs reached the seat of learning, and the pugilistic pupils awaited the coming of the master. Forty-four boys and girls were present as the new pedagogue entered the school-room. Two boys, past twenty, and one girl, their sister, were generally leaders of the rebellion. The teacher sought by hard work and tact to keep the attention of the school fixed on interesting and improving studies, and as a rule he succeeded very well. He thus diverted their minds for awhile and staved off the evil day. But storms will brew in the moral as well as in the material universe, and long before it broke upon him the teacher felt it coming. First it became necessary to bring forward the girl for misbehavior and stand her on the floor before the school. On the morning following the two big boys came shuffling in and took their places by the stove. They were great swaggering fellows, either of whom

could take up the school-master with ease and pitch him out at the window.

"The school will come to order," said the master. All went to their places but the elder of the two loaferish brothers, who still stood by the stove. "Take your seat," said Ladd.

"I will take my seat when I get ready," was the reply. It was now or never. Pale as a ghost, though quick as a flash, Ladd was upon him. Before he was aware of it the fellow's heels were tripped up, and his face was churning the floor at such a vigorous and rapid rate that he soon roared lustily for mercy. The next day the father of the ringleaders in the rebellion came around. He did not care about the thrashing his son had got, but it nettled him sorely that his daughter had been made to stand up, and he was going to resent it. The school-master paid no attention to him, and when the hour arrived for opening school he rapped on the window for the boys to come in. He came in with the rest of them. Said the teacher to him, "Mr Blank, if you come here as a visitor just come up and take a seat in my chair and I shall be glad to see you. If you come as a pupil, however, be kind enough to take a seat with the other pupils and I will furnish you with a book and slate."

"Well," said he, but he got no farther, Ladd continuing: "One of three things you must do, you must be either visitor or pupil, or you must leave the schoolhouse."

The man glared at the master for a moment, but the latter's determination and courage overawed him. He went away quietly, and ever afterwards was as good a friend as the teacher had in that neighborhood Thus was discipline established, and the school became one of the most orderly and efficient in the county. This wholesome result was due, from beginning to end, much to Ladd's ability to keep his pupils' minds at work on practical problems. His

skill in thus interesting his scholars, and his conquering will, made him their master and friend.

Railroading was the next move. The Boston, Concord, and Montreal railway was approaching the town, and there were a number of young men who applied for a lucrative place, of high position, with little to do. Ladd was as ambitious as any of them, but he did not regard theirs as the right way to secure lasting preferment. So when the superintendent came along one day, Ladd plucked up courage and accosted him. "Mr Elkins," said he, "as trains will soon be running, I thought I would ask if you will not want some one to work about the freight depot."

"Work?" replied the superintendent, "you want to work?"

"Yes, if you will give me the opportunity," was the reply.

"And you don't want an office; you dont want a pleasant and respectable position; you don't want to be superintendent or president?"

"I would rather first make myself competent before attempting to fill a responsible position," replied Ladd.

"Here, Dodge," called out the superintendent to his deputy, "give this young man a place in the freight-house."

His experience in railroading was mainly that of freight and passenger agent, for which position he soon qualified himself by strict application to business. He did his work thoroughly and looked after the interests of his employers with the same care that every zealous man devotes to his own affairs. Active, intelligent, and conscientious in the discharge of his duty, he won the respect and favor of his employer. In this, his first association with men of the world, he earned the confidence and appreciation, and gave evidence of his ability to make his own way, at the same time, establishing a reputation for integrity in

word and deed which is the very cornerstone of all business transactions. In the humblest, as well as the most exalted walks of life, there will always be found scope for the exercise of this uprightness of character. Such has been his experience, his later years confirming his youth; for it may be truly said of him as Hugh Miller said of the mason with whom he served his apprenticeship: "He put his conscience into every stone he laid."

The work at Sanbornton Bridge did not fill out his time after he had got it well in hand and he was sent to the head of the line and put in full charge of the freight department. Always anxious to learn and extend the scope of his usefulness, he was not there more than a month or two before the superintendent found that there was no other man in his employ who could make up a train as quickly as young Ladd. Without knowing why, he was unexpectedly ordered back to Sanbornton Bridge station, where he found his duties almost a sinecure. It was only years afterward that he learned that Dodge thought that he was getting on too rapidly, and not wanting him in his own way, had caused him to be put back out of the line of preferment. This had never occurred to Ladd; all that occupied his mind was how to do his work to the best advantage and save time. Being ignorant of the fact that he was in anybody's way, and being disturbed only by the lack of employment at Sanbornton Bridge, he told Mr Elkins he thought it would be better for him to go elsewhere if he could not get more to do as he did not feel easy in his position. Soon afterward the superintendent of the Boston and Maine railroad wanted some twenty or thirty young men to go west, selecting Ladd as the only one from his road, but then he was on the verge of coming to Oregon. In all probability, however, he had gone far enough in railroading, in which he acquired valuable information and developed a tact in handling men that have stood him to great advantage

ever since. His service with the railroad company was not marked by any incidents that need be specially recorded unless, perhaps, a conversation which the young agent enjoyed with Daniel Webster and his wife, who stopped at his station on their way from Franklin to White mountain. He found the distinguished orator to be a man of very plain, simple manners and easy to talk with, or rather to listen to. This meeting was an event in the young man's life, but it is not an occasion that would be noticeable at the present time, for that portion of the United States in which he is prominent is often visited by the great men of the nation, and Mr Ladd is always counted among those whose duty it is to receive and entertain them. This shows in the most practical, and at the same time in a very happy, way, that our country is one in which a man who has the capacity and character to build himself up, need not be discouraged even if he has to begin at the foot of the ladder, for, as Mr Webster himself said: "There is always room at the top."

'Forty-eight and 'forty-nine were now at hand, and Ladd rembered that he had read in his *Olney's Geography* about cattle-raising in California, and the hides and tallow there, the trading vessels and the lazy Mexicans. Besides he had read the eloquent letters of Thurston descriptive of the Oregon country. Olney was well versed in California affairs, while Oregon cut but a small figure on his map. For all that, young Ladd cared little for California, but he thought much of Oregon. "Gold," he argued, "that can be picked up from the ground, cannot continue to be of much value, while good farming land is a sure basis of progress and prosperity."

And the discovery of gold completely ruined that country for him, while the garden fields of Oregon, with their products, would drain the southern placers of their gold. There was a young man, named Charles Elliott Tilton, who had been a schoolmate of Ladd's.

Tilton had been permitted to make a voyage to Santo Domingo and South America, up the Orinoco river, after which he went to California. This was prior to Ladd's engagement on the railroad. A Mr Carr, who was a general storekeeper at Sanbornton Bridge, went to San Francisco, and from there took a stock of goods, amounting to about $3,500, to Portland, where he sold it at a good profit, returning home with a fortune of $10,000, January 1851. That was a large amount of money in the interior of New Hampshire in those days, and Carr became a conspicuous personage. Ladd held many conferences with Carr respecting the Pacific coast, where labor was high and fortune quickly made. He also corresponded with Tilton, who was in San Francisco selling goods sent to him by his brother around Cape Horn.

"Carr," said Ladd one day, "I can do better than work here at thirty dollars a month, when they are paying six dollars a cord for chopping wood over there, and I can cut two cords a day." So he concluded to go to Oregon, and gave notice to the superintendent that he should terminate his railroad engagement two months hence, and engaged passage by the steamer leaving New York the 27th of February 1851. The superintendent would not listen, at first, to his quitting the service at which he was doing so well, but he was finally forced to reconcile himself to it.

Like most young men first coming to the country, Ladd had his ideas of a fortune. Twenty thousand dollars he thought would satisfy him, on starting out; later he would have taken ten thousand for his chances. At San Francisco he found Tilton selling his consignment to jobbers. "Charles," said he, "why sell to jobbers; why not you and I go into business and sell these goods ourselves?" But Tilton was afraid, and Ladd went on to Oregon. Had he entered into business with Tilton at that time,

and remained in San Francisco, he would have escaped fire and failure, such as attended many merchants of that day, only by a miracle.

The manner in which many allow themselves to be sacrificed to a craving for immediate riches, reminds one of the cupidity of the monkey—that caricature of our species. It is related that: "In Algiers the Kabyle peasant attaches a gourd well fixed to a tree, and places within it some rice. The gourd has an opening merely sufficient to admit the monkey's paw. The creature comes to the tree by night, inserts his paw, and grasps his booty. He tries to draw it back, but it is clenched, and he has not the wisdom to unclench it. So there he stands until morning, when he is caught, looking as foolish as may be, though with the prize in his grasp. The moral of this little story is capable of a very extensive application in life."

At the time of Mr Ladd's arrival in Oregon, important political issues were before the people and the legislature; towns were laid out, newspapers were established, and new counties created. But the paramount aim of the young man from New Hampshire, for the moment, was how to get a start, which being obtained, the future would be assured.

If disappointment had attended him in San Francisco, things looked darker still at Portland. That $20,000 seemed very far away during the first months of his sojourn, while living from hand to mouth trying to get a start in a new and strange country. He had brought a few articles with him, and kept a store until he had sold his things out. One day the supervisor came around and assessed him for road tax. "How much is it," he asked. "Six dollars," was the reply—that is, two day's work at three dollars per day. Ladd's finances were then low, and this sum would make serious inroads. Pointing to two stumps standing in front of his store, opposite the ground now occupied by the Esmond hotel, he asked, "What

will you allow me for digging them up?" "I will give you your tax receipt," was the reply. Mr Ladd spent two or three nights and mornings cleaning the dirt from the roots, and then burnt them out. It was the easiest $6 he had ever earned.

After a trip through the country for the purpose of buying chickens, eggs, and other farm products, he returned to find that a vessel had arrived with goods on board belonging to Mr Gookin, to whom he presented himself, asking if he did not want some assistance in landing and selling his goods. "Where are you from?" Gookin asked. "Sanbornton Bridge, New Hampshire," was the reply. "Did you know Samuel Tilton?" "He lived near my father's." "Did you know Doctor Ladd?" "He was my father." No further introduction was necessary. Mr Ladd engaged to work for Gookin for three months for $250, which seemed to him, being new in the country, very handsome wages, though the fact is Gookin purchased his services far below the ruling rates. Gookin had at first expected to sell his goods from the vessel's deck, and during that time Ladd had cleaned up $1,000. He then arranged to carry in stock some goods of his own, to sell for his own account. He bought tobacco, powder, shot, and bar lead from H. W. Corbett, J. Failing & Co., and Allen & Lewis, while Tilton sent him goods from San Francisco, so that he soon found himself worth $2,500.

Mr Ladd was now on the high road to prosperity, wealth, and honor. The struggle had been made, the battle had been fought and won. The first thousand dollars, the most difficult of all in the achievement of fortune, had been made. The floor of the new school of experience in Portland had been churned by the face of the big boy adversity, and the schoolmaster was again triumphant. We have seen how he conquered. But take a still closer view of the matter. Other men who have risen to prominence in com-

merce in his neighborhood had something to begin with. Now, whether this were much or little, it was a great help to them. It is the first step which costs; and the severest test is oftentimes in the first struggle. This is not said in disparagement of any of those other broad-gauged and good men, for whom no one has a more just appreciation than Mr Ladd himself, but, while conceding to them all the great credit that is their due, it would not be quite fair to him or historically just to pass by this fact. In 1852, painted on the oilcloth lining that came out of a case of boots, was raised the sign. W. S. Ladd & Co. Gookin conducted his affairs in a loose kind of way, though he was often more fortunate than more prudent men. He offered the remnant of his stock to Ladd, first proposing that Ladd should buy it, and then that he should take it on sale, which the latter finally did.

Meanwhile Mr Ladd had taken a run down to San Francisco, in July, to arrange for his future engagement in a mercantile career with C. E. Tilton. Gookin's funds had accumulated in San Francisco up to $60,000 in coin. This he desired Ladd to bring for him to Portland, with which to purchase gold dust to take to New York. He took this large sum of money in gold into his stateroom, on his return to Portland, to save paying freight on it. After the money had been successfully conveyed and delivered to its owner in Portland, Ladd receiving nothing for his trouble, though Gookin had saved several hundred dollars by it, the young merchant reflected on the risk he had run of losing the money, and involving himself in unpleasant complications, and he resolved never to place himself in such a position again. The matter occupied his thoughts to such an extent that he spoke to Gookin about it. Said he: "You are a much older man than I am; but I want to offer you a piece of advice. This money I have brought up here all safe. Suppose I had been robbed

of $10.000, you would always think I stole it. And suppose I had taken it and gone off to China. Don't ever put such a temptation in a young man's way again."

It was now that the sound principles inculcated in his early training brought fruit, to the lasting benefit of the man and the state. Mr Ladd was at his post early, retiring early, and so economizing his strength. He was not afraid of work, and was at his place by four o'clock in the summer mornings helping his customers load their wagons, so that they could get away in the cool of the day. He never frequented saloons or went out on night carousals. He always attended church at least once on Sunday, and he manifested a healthy interest in public affairs. He was a shrewd trader, meeting loss with the same equanimity as profit. Receiving word from Tilton that turpentine was running low in the San Francisco market, Ladd made a shipment by the steamer *General Warren*, which was wrecked on the bar of the Columbia. The morning after news of the loss had reached him, and almost before other merchants were at their places of business, Ladd had all the available turpentine in Portland purchased and in his store. This at San Francisco brought ten dollars a gallon, the profits more than covering his former loss. In 1852 Ladd and Tilton entered into partnership, and in 1853 Mr Ladd's brother, Wesley, came out.

While thus plodding along the path to fortune, Mr Ladd's heart and mind were not so taken up in his work that he ceased to loyally remember a young lady back in New Hampshire to whom his faith had been plighted; in truth, it was no small part of his ambition as a pioneer to so acquit himself as to be worthy of her. He thought of her much and tenderly, and his most cherished ambition was to make her his wife, but his love and enthusiasm did not interfere with his taking a sensible, practical view of

the situation. Before soliciting his betrothed to leave her home and friends, where she was surrounded by the comforts and refinements of life, to come out to be his partner in a new and crude community, he would first establish himself and make it certain that she would have the least possible to regret in relinquishing ties and associations that bound her strongly to her native place. But when he felt that the tide in his affairs had been taken at the flood, and that he had passed through his period of personal probation honestly and manfully, so that he could offer himself to her in good faith, he was eager to secure the prize. He had not known the lady of his choice, Caroline Ames Elliott, while at school, except as a member of the class in algebra. He had observed and admired her, but had never enjoyed the pleasure of an actual acquaintance. The rigid rules of decorum in mixed schools of that day were not calculated to facilitate intercourse among the girls and boys. He saw her nevertheless and admired her, though at a distance. After their school-days were over, and she had become a teacher and he had gone to railroading, the artificial barrier between them was removed, and a friendship grew up which ripened into love. When Mr Ladd left Sanbornton Bridge they had betrothed themselves to each other and corresponded very regularly from that day, and we may be sure that, as the mails arrived in Portland but once a month, "steamer day" was one of extraordinary interest to Mr Ladd. If he had hitherto acted in a wise and judicious manner with regard to the matter, it was now Miss Elliott's opportunity to manifest the same discretion. He wrote and laid before her very plainly the embarrassment and loss that would result to his business if he should go east and lose, say, three or four months in order to be married, and that his affairs were in such a condition that it would be only with the utmost difficulty that he could leave at all; and he appealed to her generosity to consent to make the

sacrifice and come to him. The propriety of taking this step was discussed for several weeks by the family, but Mrs Elliott recognized the philosophy of Mr Ladd's request, and gave her consent. Mr Ladd's brother, Wesley, had engaged himself to proceed to New Hampshire and escort Miss Elliott to San Francisco. The voyage was quite a trial for the young lady, but she was supported by the additional companionship of Mrs S. G. Reed of Portland. Miss Elliott sailed from New York September 28, 1854, and on reaching San Francisco she found her future husband waiting to greet her, where they were married, October 17th of the same year, in the presence of a pleasant party, consisting of her cousin, Mr Charles E. Tilton, and his wife, John Wesley Ladd and a few other Portland friends who happened to be in San Francisco at the time. On the 6th of November following Mr and Mrs Ladd arrived in Portland An incident occurred in connection with the marriage which is very suggestive of the times. It so happened that just before the steamer on which Mr Ladd was to take passage for San Francisco sailed he was subpœnaed to serve on a jury.

"But I am going to San Francisco on the steamer," protested Ladd.

"Can't help it," replied Judge Olney; "it is just such men as you are that I want for jurors."

"I have business—I must go to San Francisco on the steamer."

"If you do I will fine you to the full extent of the law. I am going to put a stop to this evasion of jury duty by men like you; you are needed for this work."

"See here, judge," exclaimed Ladd, becoming desperate, "I will let you into a secret. I am going to San Francisco to be married to a young lady who comes all the way from New Hampshire to meet me there."

"Oh, ah!" exclaimed the judge, "that is a different matter. He who brings to Oregon a good wife serves

his country more than in sitting on any jury. Go, with my heartiest congratulations."

Ladd and Tilton continued their mercantile business together until the spring of 1855, when the former bought out the latter, who thereupon returned to New Hampshire. Three years later Tilton returned, tired of the east, and wanted to associate himself again with Ladd, who had, in the mean time, given his brother an interest in the business. But Ladd said, "No, Charles, there is no room. I have all the money requisite for this business, and more. But a bank is needed in Portland, and if you will join me, I will sell my mercantile business and we will open in the spring." Tilton hesitated, but finally consented, the institution being ready for operations in April 1859.

Thus was the first bank on the Pacific coast north of San Francisco established. It was started on a capital of $50,000, but in 1861 this capital stock was increased to $150,000. Thereafter its earnings were turned back into the business until its capital amounted to $1,000,000; from that time dividends were paid, and it would be superfluous to add that they have been satisfactory. When the partnership of Ladd and Tilton was dissolved, Mr Tilton retiring in 1880, its bills receivable amounted to $2,500,000. Its coin deposits were at first exceedingly small, but steadily increased, until at the close of 1889 they amounted to approximately $4,000,000. It has always done a sound and select business, which is largely due to the policy of keeping below the current interest rates as these have become less and less. The rate of interest when the bank started was from three to five per cent per month, but it accepted the best loans at two and one-half per cent; and it is now operating on rates proportionately lower than those which are current. As is evidenced by these facts, the bank of Ladd and Tilton has grown steadily and rapidly, until it stands in the front rank, if not at the

head of all others in the northwestern states. It has large banking interests in Seattle, Tacoma, Walla Walla and Port Townsend in Washington. It is pertinent to enquire how the banking house of Ladd and Tilton has attained to such proportions; how it has kept in the lead of other banks in the Pacific northwest. These other banks are sufficiently numerous, and their standing, as a rule, is as good as in any other community, doubtless better than in most, for stability in all departments of industry in this portion of the country is a decided characteristic. From what source did this particular bank derive its impetus, and how are we to account for its present momentum? Necessarily its management has been competent, and it is not fair to ascribe any great portion of its success to fortune. Has not superior talent controlled its destinies? A high degree of success in banking presupposes special aptitude, good judgment of men and affairs, promptitude of action in emergency, self-control and moral courage. May not a blending of these and other like forces account for such a marked success in finance? How else can the spirit of one man make his bank distinct and superior to others, which, but for comparison with it, would be regarded as successful in an extraordinary degree? That he possesses individuality among men, and also a distinct individuality among bankers, is evident, but above all he must possess character, which is itself "an estate in the general good-will and respect of men;" reliableness which convinces men that its possessor can be trusted; that he can be relied on; that when he says he knows a thing, he knows it; that when he says he will do a thing, he can do it, and does it; reliableness that thus becomes a passport to the general esteem and confidence of mankind. The banker, above all others, must be honest, in the broadest sense of that word, because of the sensitive relationship he sustains towards the public as the custodian of money, which is second in importance only to life itself among the

generality of those with whom he deals. The bank in question never solicited business; its character has been its advertisement. It has treated its customers with exact justice and liberality. It has not only never practised usury, but, on the ground of equity as well as expediency, it has not accepted more than the legal rate of interest, preferring rather to go below it. Yet the history of this bank begins and ends chiefly with the personality of Mr Ladd; he is the bank. Instances might be adduced to show how, in the ways indicated, the bank has been the creation of his labor and intelligence, but I confine myself to the following remarkable instance, which shows something of his close business calculation and powers of financiering. Upon the dissolution of his partnership with Mr Tilton he had an understanding with him that none of their customers should be crowded or forced to pay their indebtedness to the bank sooner than would be convenient. As stated, the outstanding indebtedness was $2,500,000, and when the bank made its statement in 1888 there was less than $1,300 of that balance still outstanding, and over $100,000 previously charged to profit and loss had been collected, and in 1889 the balance of the $1,300 just mentioned had been practically wiped out, or perhaps converted into a small balance on the other side of the ledger, by an increase of value in the property by which the debt was secured.

The bank has been the main feature of Mr Ladd's business activity, but he has had enough to do outside of it to keep an ordinary man fully occupied. There has scarcely been a single enterprise of any consequence proposed or undertaken in Portland since his identification with the city that he has not taken a greater or less part in, contributing to its promotion his time, experience and money. A mere list of these would occupy considerable space, and to discuss them all would fill a volume; the most that can be done, therefore, is to note such as are characteristic and

serve to show the manner in which his energy has been devoted to the development of the country in its material, moral and social aspects.

The first notable undertaking of which he was a part was the Oregon Steam Navigation company, to which—organized first in Washington Territory December 29, 1860, and reorganized in Oregon October 1862, first with a capital of $271,000 and afterwards with $2,000,000—so much is due for opening up the country by improving the means of internal water transportation. Among the contributors to its funds his name appears on the list as second in amount of subscription, and he continued his interest in it until the control passed into the hands of Jay Cook and his associates; when they failed he and other principal factors in the enterprise repurchased the stock from the receiver of Cook's estate, and in 1879 resold to the Oregon Railway and Navigation company.

Mr Ladd contributed in the early days to test the extent and quality of the ore in the property now owned by what is known as the Oregon Iron and Steel company.

In the midst of his other engagements Mr Ladd has found time to devote himself personally to farming, and it has been one of his chief sources of relaxation and pleasure. Besides always having a general interest and lending his aid to the promotion of agriculture in the state, he owns four farms individually in the neighborhood of Portland, and five others in Clarke county, Washington, and in Washington and Yamhill counties, Oregon, in connection with another enterprising citizen. The largest of the latter is known as Broad Meads, about four miles from Amity; it contains over three thousand acres and is a model in all respects. He is president of the board of regents of the agricultural college, located at Corvallis, in which he is much interested. The benefit derived by the community from his efforts in this sphere are much greater than the advantage accruing to himself, and

he looks upon his farming less as an investment than as a relaxation. One of his farms, comprising about four hundred acres, is situated on the outskirts of east Portland. He has greatly improved it with the idea of making it a model in every particular, on which experimental farming may be done for the gratification it affords him personally, and to assist in furthering the interests and progress of agriculture. Farm life has great attractiveness for him, and he derives much entertainment as well as solid rest from the cares of his business, by making frequent and regular visits to this suburban farm. He has been considerably interested in the importation of thoroughbred Clydesdales and Cleveland Bay horses, Cotswald and Leicester sheep, shorthorn cattle, and Berkshire hogs, and on his own account has given special attention to the importation and breeding of Guernsey and Jersey cattle for dairy purposes. They have studiously kept up the breed on their own farms, and it would be difficult to estimate the extent to which they have in this way contributed to the wealth of the farmers throughout the northwest. Mr Ladd has given up the breeding of fast horses because he has no relish for racing, though some of the horses formerly bred by them have made fine records on the track. They began the importation of thoroughbred stock as early as 1870, being pioneers in this enterprise and investing a large amount of capital in it; that is, before anybody else had undertaken stock-breeding on such a broad scale or with such a high standard. From that day to this the ever-widening beneficial consequences of this nursery of fine stock have been so great that it would be almost impossible for the people of Oregon to fully appreciate how much they owe to Mr Ladd in this direction. Within the last few years Oregon has taken a prominent position as a horse-breeding community for draft and light harness horses. A number of Oregon horses have been shipped to Denver and some of them as far east

as Chicago, in competition with eastern bred horses. The breeding up of these horses into their present excellence was started by the importation into the state of the stallions brought in by Mr Ladd. Some idea of the value to the people of this breeding up of the quality of horses can be had from the fact that prior to the year 1870 the generality of Oregon horses were cayuses, of no special value at home or abroad. From that foundation the present stock has been brought about. What has been said of horses in this connection may fairly be said of the other kinds of stock. On the Broad Meads farm there is by far the finest herd of shorthorn cattle on the Pacific coast, perhaps as large a herd, and certainly as thorough in breeding also, as anywhere else in the world.

After the Portland fire in 1873 in which a number of furniture dealers and manufacturers were burnt out, it was proposed to combine and form a strong company for the manufacture of furniture. Mr Ladd was one of the principal founders and promoters of the enterprise. Under the name of the Oregon Furniture Manufacturing company the business of manufacturing and selling furniture was begun April 1, 1874. From small beginnings the house has grown until now it is the leading establishment of its kind in the north Pacific. Mr Ladd has felt very much concerned in it from the first, watching its course with interest, and giving it always the benefit of his influence, judgment and capital. He has not taken any active personal part in the management of the company's business further than this; what he has done is of the greatest importance, and shows him to be a man of very broad and unselfish views. Among the men of great wealth in the community he was the first appealed to for aid to this enterprise, which may fairly be set down as the rule when the countenance and aid of leading men are needed in such cases. Being a citizen of public spirit, he was pleased with the opportunity to encourage this effort at home

industry. He has never hesitated at any time to do what he could to help forward the development of the state and the city of Portland, in which he has unswerving faith. He did not go into this manufactory chiefly because of the profits to be derived from it, although he would not have put his money in it unless he had felt reasonably sure that it would be a success; the inducement for him was that it was an advantage to the community in encouraging home industry. From beginning to end, in Portland, in Oregon, in the northwest, he is everywhere a builder. Instead of going in with others to lay the foundation and staying with them to erect the superstructure of the Oregon Furniture Manufacturing company, he could have done much better with the funds invested. With his opportunities and ability for handling large sums he could have put out the same amount of money to a much greater advantage. He was the only one of the very wealthy men of Portland who identified himself with this manufacturing interest at its inception; hardly anybody but himself knows how many interests he is connected with. He is ready at all times to listen to a legitimate business proposition which is calculated to promote the public good and advance the industrial development of the city or the state, whether or not the enterprise proposed offers him personally sufficient immediate returns is of secondary importance if he is convinced that it is of general value to others.

In 1883, after a most disastrous season to the flour milling industry, Mr Ladd found that a great many of the large flour mills in Oregon were nearly ruined. Most of the milling companies were indebted to him largely, but with his accustomed generosity he volunteered to advance sufficient funds to keep the business going, provided that the other stockholders would do something commensurate with their means in the same direction. The milling industry generally was in such a hopeless condition, however, that with-

out an exception these men refused to do this. Now then if anything were to be done it must be done by the one man. He took a view of the question that was at once charitable as well as wise. He saw that if these mills were closed down upwards of one hundred families would be deprived of the means of support. This was really the first view of the case that interested him deeply. It is true that the mills were in his debt, but he could have secured this indebtedness and ended his accounts in that way, but here was a chance to exercise a wide and practical charity. Again Mr Ladd, in this instance as in so many others, evinced a characteristic foresight. He appreciated the value of this industry to the commercial prosperity of the state, and he could see that the disaster to milling was but temporary. He therefore boldly and confidently purchased all of the larger mills and combined them into one corporation, under the name of the Portland Flouring Mills company. By the help of his means and judgment the new corporation has kept its mills in continuous operation. Mr Ladd wants to have everybody at work, and does not desire any mill idle at any time; they must be doing their best and kept at work always. It is a great pleasure to him to contemplate the success which has crowned his efforts. From time to time as new processes and methods of milling have been invented he has improved his mills and kept them modernized, and he has also built new mills whenever required for the proper prosecution of the trade, until his company now produces more flour than any other milling company on the Pacific coast. It has been his policy to reach out in every direction that would tend to add to the growth of the business and the development of the country. There is a home market for the company's products, but the chief market is in Europe, where its brands are well known. With his accustomed principle of giving full weight and good goods his shipments have always

been up to the samples and of full weight, in consequence of which his foreign brands have obtained a reputation second to that of no other American flour. At a competitive test in the year 1888 in London it was conceded that the best loaf of bread was made of flour one-half Pillsbury brand and the other half the Portland company's flour. The company's brands have such a reputation in Europe that its flour is sold two or three months in advance ; it is really sold on its reputation. The company's plant is large and is kept running to its full capacity. There are six mills, located at Portland, Oregon City and Salem, in Oregon, and Tacoma and Dayton, in Washington. Their daily capacity is 3,500 barrels. At present there are over one hundred and fifty families dependent upon the wages of laborers in these mills for their support. Mr Ladd is personally entitled to the credit for this whole scheme of re-creating the flour milling industry in Oregon and Washington, as indicated, for taking it up when everybody else was in despair, and not only saving it for the time, but reëstablishing it then and carrying it forward ever since in the spirit of modern progress at every point. It is the largest manufacturing corporation in the northwest states, its volume of business being greater than that of any other and requiring a greater amount of capital to handle it. There is no other bank than that of Ladd and Tilton which could afford to do what he has done for it. He was determined to carry the undertaking to success, and though sometimes it was difficult to see what might be the final result of an outlay at this or that point, he never faltered. The nominal capital invested is $300,000, but the actual value of the plant in 1889 was $1,500,000, with an unmistakable prospect of continuous and indefinite growth. In view of such activity as this, it is not surprising that all those who know Mr Ladd by his works agree that he is the most enterprising man among all his neighbors in Oregon and the northwest.

But to revert to another branch of industry, an attempt has been made to establish a cordage manufactory in Portland, resulting in failure. Mr Ladd and others seeing here an opportunity to carry forward this enterprise in a conservative way, as an investment for themselves and as a means of offering employment to a large number of laborers, purchased what there was of the plant in 1888, and formed the Portland Cordage company. It was not specially lucrative at the outset, but it was soon vitalized and strengthened in their hands, and began to grow into an institution of profit to them and value to the city. In the year following the demand for the product of the manufactory had increased to such a degree that it became necessary to double its capacity. It is now in a thrifty and progressive condition, and is looked upon as a permanent industry, the usefulness and benefits of which will grow wider and wider from year to year. He was interested years ago in testing the capabilities of woolen manufacturing.

Incidentally, Mr. Ladd has taken part in shipping, owning sundry vessels at various times, and utilizing them in the carrying trade along the coast.

He has done but little in gold and silver or coal mining, though of late years he has owned some mining property. This industry he holds is important and helpful, if legitimately conducted.

He figures with others in a company which is successfully carrying forward the manufacture of linseed oil. Even this undertaking affords a history that is not unimportant in the building up of the metropolis of the northwest, in contributing to the civilization and welfare of the commercial emporium, the influence of which is felt over a wide extent of country; but to the reflecting mind a suggestion to this effect is sufficient. The benefits derived from energy so concentrated are complex, but the one fact with which we

are all familiar is enough to emphasize its beneficence, which is that every undertaking such as he has been identified with, is a source of bread and meat, education and comfort, to worthy men, whose wives and children are made glad by their labor. Men of such enterprise and vigor enlarge whatever they touch; they are benefactors in the most substantial sense, in this, that they create opportunities for others to earn a living, which, to my mind, is better than to contribute proportionately of alms. I am aware that men who are impelled to self-aggrandisement by keen and eager ambition are not classed among philanthropists, yet their every energy is spent in creating that without which philanthrophy is helpless. It need not be hinted that in order to give one must have, and it is a pleasing feature in the character of Mr Ladd that he not only works indirectly for others in the manner referred to, but that the needy are given by him a clear title to a generous share of his accumulations.

For a long time Portland had suffered for the want of two accessories to the general health and comfort. These needs were an adequate supply of pure water, and a hotel commensurate with the size and dignity of a city such as Portland. The legislature in 1886 enacted a law creating a water committee of fifteen persons, and empowering the city to issue bonds to the amount of $700,000 for the purpose of supplying itself with water, and chose the members of this committee in accordance with the views of representative taxpayers and citizens. It was an affair involving the expenditure of a large sum of money, and requiring ability and good faith in the management. Mr Ladd has served from the beginning as a prominent member of this committee, taking a leading part in all its deliberations. He had had it in mind for many years to bring it around in some way so that the city could furnish itself with water, control the supply and regulate the cost, and he finally devised and outlined the

legislation just described, and pressed the matter forward until it took this shape. He looked upon water as a necessity of life which should be as nearly as possible free to all; and it was abhorrent to his mind that it should be held in the hands of a private corporation. He could not rest, therefore, until steps like these had been taken to secure water to the citizens at a nominal cost.. He made enemies of strong men in the community who, though friends before, did all they could to injure him on this account; but he had done what he felt sure was his duty, and he had no regrets. The money appropriated was found insufficient to construct a gravity system, and the plant of the Portland Water Company on the Willamette river five miles south of town was purchased on behalf of the city, pending the introduction of a better supply. Under the committee's administration, however, water rates have been reduced to fifty per cent below previous figures. The operating expenses have been met and a portion of the gross actual proceeds applied to new construction. The purpose was to construct a pipe line to Bull run, a mountain stream rising on the western slope of the Cascades, from which pure water in abundance could be obtained. Since the passage of the enabling act it has been determined that an additional outlay of $2,000,000 is necessary. The authority of the legislature will have to be invoked again, but without doubt it will revise the law in this respect, for no guarantee is needed that every dollar appropriated will be judiciously expended. I deem it of interest to note, in passing, that the personnel of the water committee is superior; that they are all men of substance and character who are above collusion and jobbery. This I set down as creditable to the constituency whom they represent, for there are cities that I wot of in which the selection of men for the discharge of such a function would have been influenced to a greater or less extent by politi-

cians who have friends to serve or axes of their own to grind.

As to the hotel, a magnificent building had been projected by Henry Villard, with large European capital behind him; but when he fell the hotel project, as did many others immaturely undertaken by him, was brought to a standstill. As a monument to his sanguine temperament, a massive stone wall of the proposed caravansary, one story high, stood upon the square bounded by Morrison, Yamhill, 6th and 7th streets. Up to 1887 much had been said but nothing done toward completing the building; nobody of sufficient energy and influence seemed willing to step forward and take the initiative, when one day Mr Ladd invited a number of the leading men and principal property holders in the city to meet him at the parlors of the Ladd and Tilton banking house to discuss a business proposition; whereupon in a brief characteristic speech he set forth the loss that Portland had suffered in not taking advantage of this opportunity to provide itself with an essential convenience. He pointed out to them the damaging effect of tourists coming to Portland, and for the want of proper accommodations passing on to Tacoma; going anywhere else to find a hotel. Said he, "If you will organize a company with a capital of $500,000, I will take one-fifth of the stock on condition that Mr. H. W. Corbett, a man in whose zeal, business ability and integrity every one has confidence, is made president of the corporation." With this impetus given to the project there was little further delay encountered, and early in the year 1890 The Portland, inferior to no other hotel building on the Pacific coast, was opened to the public to the great joy of travellers, and much to the benefit of the city.

Thus, after we have looked into the industrial history of Portland as seen through the principal features of Mr Ladd's activity, the reader may fairly judge what manner of man he is in business, and

what his factorship has been in its advancement. The fruits of his commercial labor are not all his own, for while he is in actual and undisturbed possession of his enormous estate, his property, all of which he has earned, remains in the community for its enrichment and enlivenment. But, coming more to those things the direct aim of which is for the public advancement, he has been a noteworthy friend of education. In the year 1864 the Portland library association was formed and started with a fund of $2,500, contributed by a number of men, among whom the name of Mr Ladd was prominent. At the beginning of the year 1865 it contained 577 books, and at the beginning of 1878, 8,724, and in 1890, 17,600. It has grown healthily, and now fills such a place in the city that to very many persons it has become almost a necessity. It contains information to satisfy the student of literature, history, politics, religion and science, and it furnishes a cheap and convenient means of forming the best opinion which the state of knowledge on these subjects permits. For many years without resources or aid save the faith and true friendship of comparatively a few persons, it kept its doors open and increased its property and usefulness. At this date it is in a more flourishing condition, and its prospects are very bright. It is safe to assume that it has been among the potent and effective agencies in culture and information, and that is has done a good part in influencing the character of the community The president of the association, February 5, 1876, in his report expressed his hope as follows: "That ere another five years have been numbered with the past it shall be found no longer dependent upon the shelter of one good friend." That good friend has given it shelter ever since, however, and consecrated the valuable quarters in which its books are contained to the indefinite use of the association in rooms above his banking-house, in the heart of the business portion of the city. It was the expectation

that a separate building would be provided for the library during the year 1890. He has ever been earnest in his efforts to advance the cause of education in every way. In the earlier days he was several times director of the public schools. His gifts to educational institutions have been numerous and discriminating, among which may be mentioned a scholarship in the university at Salem, and the endowment of a chair in the medical department of the state university in Portland. Several who have risen to prominence in the state owe the opportunity of an education to the facility afforded by the scholarships above mentioned. As to whom shall be the beneficiaries he allows the professors of the university to determine, believing that they are the most disinterested and capable persons to choose among the candidates for the privilege.

In the year 1886 the presbyterians of the Pacific coast undertook to raise the sum of $50,000 for their theological seminary in San Francisco. After much labor they secured subscriptions of from $4,000 to $5,000, when Mr Ladd came to their relief and endowed the chair of practical theology with $50,000, on condition that he would pay the sum when a like amount was raised by the synod of California to put with it for the endowment of another chair, which was effected. It is a peculiarity of Mr Ladd's in giving that, while he does so freely, he makes his own gift a nest-egg for others; thus, it may be said, multiplies his own donation. He never gives blindly, but always with a specific object in view, and for a tangible reason. He was not able to preach himself, and he gave of his abundance to the theological seminary that others might be enabled thereby to fit themselves for the ministry. Through a wide extent of country few churches have been built without aid from him. It would be hard to find one in Oregon, Washington or Idaho that he has not a brick or shingle in. In responding to appeals for assistance, which come to

him oftener than to most others, and which he never neglects, it is a peculiarity of his to offer the amount which he feels he can afford to contribute with the proviso that his donation alone, or together with others; must cover the indebtedness of the church receiving it; in other words, that he makes it a rule not to give to a church in need unless its indebtedness ceases with the act of his giving. If this original idea of Mr Ladd's be properly considered, together with his liberality as a helper of churches, it will be seen that he does a great deal for needy congregations with his own money, while at the same time he contrives to have much contributed to the same object by others who, without his action, would be slow to move in the matter.

In 1886 he published a brief and unpretentious, but an apt and useful, pamphlet, entitled *Facts and Thoughts for Business Men on Profitable Investments*, in which he sets forth clearly the great religious as well as material benefits derived from a discriminating encouragement and support of churches generally. These teachers often he regards as the well-spring of good conduct among the people in this life, and as the best means of securing that reward in the future which is above price. He was reared in the methodist faith, and his father and mother were strict and self-denying. He did not identify himself with any denomination, however, until he had been a resident of Portland some twenty years, though, as intimated before, he attended strictly to his religious duties.

In the year 1873 he became a member of the presbyterian church, thinking it better for the sake of example to his children to have one particular church for regular family worship; being induced to adopt this denomination on account of Mrs Ladd's membership. He never lost his sympathy with or affection for the methodist church, however, and it has known him as a warm substantial friend at all times. His views are broad, and he entertains charity for all religious

beliefs. No creed or sect appeals to him in vain for assistance in its labors for the elevation of mankind, in so far as this, recognizing the universal aim of the churches to rescue fallen humanity, whether it be protestant or catholic. His christianity is so much more of the practical than of the theological kind that he lays but slight stress upon creed distinctions or denominational differences, the aim and basis of all Christian religions being essentially the same, man's true advantage now and forever. His mind dwells little upon the outward mechanism, the mere hulls and superficial accidents of the object and much upon the object itself. Regarding charity as the chief duty, he has striven to cultivate this virtue. It has been his custom to set aside one-tenth of his income every year with which to meet the next year's demands upon benevolence, and he has always disbursed it. This money so set apart ceases to be his own, but is held by him in trust for others. To the Master he is responsible for his stewardship. These tithes would by this time have aggregated a vast fortune.

Yet the mere giving of alms is not all of Mr Ladd's charity. He is willing to lend a helping hand, giving time, which to him is often very precious, counsel and personal assistance in more than one direction. Many young men have been helped by him to a start in business. When these turned out well it was a source of great satisfaction to their benefactor; if they turned out badly, it was a source of sorrow to him. There was one person, formerly in the bank, and who left it to go into business for himself, who was completely ruined in 1876, through no fault of his. Mr Ladd was east at the time, and to him he went with his troubles. He told the man to go back and see his creditors, and tell them if they would let him alone and give him time he would pay every dollar; if not, he was to settle with them on the best terms he could make, and Mr Ladd would let him have the money. Most of them gave him the time he asked for. Then

said Ladd to him, "If, now, you have the courage to attempt to recuperate your fortunes in business, go forward and do so; if not, you can take your former position with me." He went to work, and for thirteen years fought his battle, winning it in the end, saving his reputation, paying all he owed, and having over $100,000 besides.

In order that Portland might have a proper field of rest for her dead, Mr Ladd, with active public spirit and reverential feeling of duty to our relatives, friends, and neighbors, who crossed over the river in advance of us, took great pains to select them an eligible place for a cemetery. A considerable sum of money was needed to improve it, but only two others, Mr Corbett and Mr Failing, could be found to coöperate with him. To these three people Portland is indebted for the beautiful River View cemetery, a spot charmingly cultivated and delightful in its surroundings. On an elevation several miles south of the city, near the west bank of the Willamette river, it commands a magnificent view, and is reached either by water or by drives over a delightful road.

As regards politics, Mr Ladd entered upon his majority as a democrat. Just why he adopted the views of the democratic party it might be difficult to determine, except that he believed its policy to be the best; certainly he did not inherit his political sentiments from his father, as most young men do. He is not a copyist. Very few young men who have to earn their bread are likely to make a sufficient study of the history and doctrines of political parties to comprehend them fully. There is no cause to doubt, however, that there seemed to him good reasons for the choice he made. He was born and bred in a community in which the greatest interest is taken in governmental affairs, and great reverence for republican principles entertained. Whether he was right or wrong in allying himself with the democratic party of that day, perhaps the wisest men who have studied

the political economy of the United States would find it difficult to determine. It was only later in life, when his material interests had become enlarged and his mind had matured, that he began to think more deeply with reference to politics, and he then took his stand among those to whom the credit is due for establishing the integrity of the states. During the civil war he was a war democrat, retaining his ideas of general policy as a democrat, but being in sympathy with the republicans on all matters tending to the preservation of the union. He voted for Douglas as against Lincoln in the latter's first candidacy, but his opposition was not against him so much as against Breckenridge and the incendiary ideas of which he was the exponent. When Mr Lincoln was a candidate the second time, and national issues had become sharply defined, Mr Ladd voted for him, and has continued ever since strong in his republicanism as regards national politics, although he is not a partisan or bound to any system. In political affairs of a local nature, that is to say, state, county, and municipality, he votes according to his estimate of the fitness of the men who are candidates. In national politics, where men are selected as representatives of certain principles or policy, he does not regard individual qualifications as so serious, and he therefore usually casts his vote for his party nominees. His participation in politics has been that of the citizen intelligently endeavoring to do his full duty as an elector. He filled the office of mayor of Portland in 1854, but apart from this he has never been a candidate for any political office. If his tastes had inclined him that way he might have commanded any position within the gift of his state, but he has not only never sought, but has declined everything in the nature of political preferment. His private affairs have engrossed his entire time and attention.

His views of the relations of capital and labor, or of monopolies to toil, are practical and sound. "No

business," said he, "should be conducted so as to be a burden to the community; and if it is so managed, the people should demand and require protection through legislation. On the same principle labor should not combine against and embarrass capital. There is a just equilibrium between the two, and it is the duty of citizens to see that this is determined and maintained. In all departments of life there should be a *quid pro quo* for everything. He takes the ground of high moral sense as an arbitrator, and thinks there would be but little trouble if irrational, selfish, and unprincipled elements did not agitate and control our politics. While a capitalist himself, he is a friend of the toiling masses. He wants to see American labor fully protected. He is independent. He does not follow in the current of those who rage against the Chinese. He sees much good in them, mixed with whatever may be bad. He thinks if they could vote and would spend their earnings for whisky and beer they would be more popular; that they would then seem to the politician, as they now seem to him, as good in morals, industry and intelligence as the degraded anarchical class of immigrants that are coming to our shores from the slums of European society. Mr Ladd is really an American in politics. His motto is "None but Americans on guard." No foreigner should vote until he has resided in this country for twenty-one years, the same probation that our own boys, natives to the soil, have to pass through, and understand our institutions as well as these boys usually do at fifteen or sixteen years of age; nor yet until he is able to read and write the constitution of the United States; and no man, native born or other wise, should hold office unless he is a freeholder and taxpayer and substantially identified with the interests of the community.

He is decided in his convictions in all such matters, fearless in voicing his sentiment, and he does not hesitate to act upon his judgment of right, giving lit-

tle heed to consequences, though, unlike his father, he possesses sufficient policy to arrive at his ends ordinarily without undue friction.

In the early days the large majority of the people of Oregon were from the south and southwest, and Portland had its share of them. They brought with them the idea that the negro's lot was to be that of a slave; this and nothing more. Colored children seated among white children at school was to them an abomination. There was quite a number of colored people in Portland, and they craved the privilege of the public schools for their offspring. Mr Ladd was school director. They appealed to him for advice after a mischievous attorney, however, had counseled them to make a test case in the courts. He said to them: "I think just as much of a black man and neighbor, as I do of a white man and neighbor so long as he behaves himself well. I want to see your children have all the benefits of education, but do not go to law. The prejudice against you here is very strong. It won't do to call in the police to protect your children when they are entering and coming out of the schoolhouse. I guarantee that you shall have a separate school in the lower grades. Let your boys and girls enter there, and by diligence prepare themselves for the higher departments, then you will find the question solved by the test of their merit. As fast as they fit themselves for promotion they will slip into the upper grades, and then nobody will dare object." Sure enough, this was the happy result, even before the shackles were struck from the slaves in the United States by Lincoln's immortal proclamation. It is worthy of record that Mr Ladd was a democrat, but his democracy did not influence him to go contrary to his convictions of humanity and justice.

During the entire course of his enterprising life, in which he has utilized the services of hundreds of laborers he has never had but one controversy with them,

and to this he refers with good-humor as a joke on himself. The bricklayers engaged in building a store for him, which, by the way, was the first brick building erected in Portland, on Front near Stark street, where laying about eight hundred bricks a day in straight walls when they should have laid from fifteen hundred to two thousand. He demurred to this and they struck. He was caught at a disadvantage, for he had a stock of goods coming and they had to be housed upon their arrival. The reconciliation was effected on a basis entirely satisfactory to the bricklayers, for they proceeded to work and thereafter averaged less than five hundred bricks per day!

Since leaving Sanbornton Bridge Mr Ladd has spent almost his entire time in Portland, travelling little, too much absorbed in business to think that he could afford himself the leisure for such diversion; nevertheless, accompanied by Mrs Ladd, they visited the eastern states two or three times. In 1858, on the occasion of their first trip, they went down to New Orleans and from there north, stopping in the Red River country to visit his uncle, who had gone there and become one of the principal planters in his section. Mr Ladd was much impressed with the farming that was done there on a large scale, but his life had been cast in another field. The following incident of his travels will show the disposition of the man to observe closely and to measure things with reference to their future value. At Chicago he met Mr Gookin, whom he worked for in '51 and who went up to St Paul and St Anthony's with him. One day Mr Ladd said to him: "I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but for anybody that has money this water power is the best investment in the world. You can just put up a sawmill on one side and a gristmill on the other and make things hum. Think of Lawrence and Lowell and then think of this water power." They extended their trip to New Hampshire, renewing their acquaintances there. At

Bangor, Maine, he saw a house that struck his fancy, and making a drawing of it, he erected its counterpart in Portland, which was enlarged and improved in 1878.

Speaking of Mrs Ladd and their home life, one writer speaks of her as an estimable lady of far more than ordinary good sense and domestic qualifications, and who during the succeeding years has proved a noble wife and mother. Their home in Portland is one of the finest in the city. Wealth and good taste have united in beautifying its surroundings, and their appreciation of the beautiful is evinced in their choice selections of statuary, paintings, etc., and those who are sufficiently fortunate to be classed among their friends find much within their home to interest and instruct them in arts and sciences hitherto, perhaps, unknown to them.

Mr Ladd ascribes a very great portion of his success to the coöperation and never-faltering sympathy of his wife. Says he: "I owe everything to her. Through all she has been to me emphatically a helpmate. In the best and highest sense a noble wife; a saintly mother to our children. I can place no adequate estimate upon her help to me in building up our fortunes in this state. Always patient, thoughtful and courageous, she has cheerfully assumed her part of whatever load I have had to carry. We both started together at bedrock, and from then till now we have taken every step in harmony." In the words of Solomon: "The price of such a woman is far above rubies. She looketh well to the ways of her husband and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed, her husband, also, and he praiseth her." Mrs Ladd has maintained a leading place in charitable, religious and educational work, and her spirit and material support has been a tower of strength in home and foreign missions. In all these things her views and plans

W. M. Ladd.

have been those of her husband, and they have worked together always for beneficent ends.

Mrs Ladd, whose history is so interwoven with that of the principal subject of this study as to be inseparable from it, is a descendant on her mother's side from the Ames, the founders of which family were three brothers who came to America at a very early date, one of whom, her ancestor, settled in New Hampshire and the other two in Massachusetts. Her father's family, the Elliotts, were also early settlers in New Hampshire. Her paternal and maternal ancestors were alike of pure English origin.

Mrs Ladd's father was Ira Elliott, and her mother Rhoda Ames, both natives of New Hampshire. Seven children were born to Mr and Mrs Ladd in Oregon, five of whom are living: William M. Ladd, born December 16, 1855; Charles Elliott Ladd, born August 5, 1857; Henry Kendall Ladd, born July 4, 1859; Caroline Ames Ladd, born September 3, 1861, and John Wesley Ladd, born January 3, 1870.

William M. Ladd, the eldest, came early and efficiently to his father's aid in the management of his largely increasing interests. He inherits many of the traits which distinguish his father: strong will, aggressive temper, perseverance and sterling integrity. He is an admirable specimen of manhood physically and mentally, strong, energetic and intelligent, and there is no fairer sight under heaven than that of a noble son supplementing the life of a noble father. It is refreshing to see the former responding with not only the ability, but, what is rarer, the disposition to stand worthily as a representative of the latter. When sixteen years of age William, convalescing from typhoid fever, was sent abroad in charge of Mr Tilton, who permitted him to travel all over Germany alone. Self-reliant, free-hearted and free-handed, the young man, though he had never been out of Oregon before, was at home

anywhere. Having prepared himself for college at Andover, Massachusetts, he went to Amherst, where he graduated in 1878. Upon his return home he entered the bank as a clerk, but on the retirement of Mr Tilton in 1880 he was made partner. Five years later he married Miss Mary Andrews of Oakland, California. They have one son. Various interests besides his work in the bank have been transferred to him from time to time by his father, whose time for the last few years has been given up mainly to the management of the banking house.

The second son, Charles Elliott Ladd, who was fitted for college at Andover and graduated from Amherst college, class of 1881, is a young man of refined tastes and scholarly instincts. He differs somewhat from his elder brother, being less in stature and less rugged in habit of body and mind. Gentle in manner and speech, he is nevertheless positive and firm, and has developed excellent business traits. Both brothers made a fair record in college without crippling themselves by overstudy, and hence, having well digested the information they obtained, they took hold of business with minds well disciplined and cultured, yet fresh and vigorous. To Charles his father entrusted the flour milling interests heretofore mentioned. He married Miss Sarah Hall of Somerville, Massachusetts, in 1881.

The eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs Ladd was married September 7, 1880, to Henry J. Corbett, the son of Senator Corbett, both of whom form a part of my biographical study elsewhere in this work. They have three sons.

"On the evening of October 17, 1889," says the Portland *Oregonian*, "occurred the most notable society event that ever took place in the northwest, the wedding of Miss Caroline Ames Ladd and Mr Frederick Bailey Pratt, solemnized at Calvary church, Portland. Mr W. S. Ladd, the father of the bride, is unquestionably the wealthiest citizen of

the Pacific northwest, and Mr Charles Pratt, father of the groom, one of the principal officers and stockholders of the Standard Oil company, is among the wealthiest men on the Atlantic coast." Mr Charles Pratt is, like Mr Ladd, not only a man well known for his riches but for his beneficence as well. He is the founder of the large industrial institute or training school in Brooklyn, New York, in which young men and young women are taught in the various mechanical arts and trades, in order that they may become useful and respected citizens through the skill thus acquired. He is also the founder of the Astral flats in Brooklyn, in which are provided homes for laborers at a rent considerably below the rates for similar quarters elsewhere in the city. The income obtained from this source is applied to the industrial institute, which is free to all worthy young people. In these charitable institutions a very large sum of money is invested, and Mr Pratt has it in mind to extend his beneficence in other similar directions. His son, Frederick B. Pratt, is occupied in the management of his father's benevolent enterprises. He is a graduate of Amherst college, where a friendship was formed between him and William and Charles Ladd. It was in this way that the Ladds and the Pratts became acquainted, out of which grew this alliance, and thus the east and the west, the Atlantic and the Pacific, are happily brought together by the union of two families, each of which is characteristic of its abiding place in position, control and benevolence.

Thus, with the greatest brevity consistent with the nature of the subject I have endeavored to present the experience, the life-work and the intimate connections of my principal study among the builders of empire on the north Pacific coast. A few of his distinctive traits of character have been noted. It is desirable that such a force be thoroughly comprehended and measured in order that it may be perpetuated with the least loss of individuality, so that here

on earth its beneficent vitality may still be recognized and felt even after the inevitable summons has been answered. "The life of every man is as the well spring of a stream whose beginnings are plain to all, but whose ulterior course and destination only the omniscient can discern. His influence, which has had a beginning, will never have an end." It is a pleasing thought, however, that we may control a life in the hereafter on this earthly sphere somewhat to the degree that we are able to fashion our temporal career.

Says Samuel Smiles in his work on Self Help: "There is indeed an essence of immortality in the life of man even in this world. No individual in the universe stands alone; he is the component part of a system of mutual dependencies; and by his several acts he either increases or diminishes the sum of human good now and forever. As the present is rooted in the past and the lives and examples of our forefathers still to a great extent influence us, so are we by our daily acts contributing to form the conditions and character of the future. No man's acts die utterly; and though his body may resolve into dust and air, his good or his bad deeds will still be bringing forth fruit after their kind and influencing future generations for all time to come." Herein I apprehend is revealed the supreme duty of the historian and biographer, the essence of whose labor it is to seize the spirit of the present as manifested in men and preserve it against the ravages of time. "How comfortable it is," says an eminent and earnest British author, "how inexpressibly comfortable, to know our fellow-creature, to see into him, understand his goings forth, decipher the whole heart of its mystery; nay, not only to see into him but out of him; to view the world altogether as he views it, so that we can theoretically construe him and almost practically personate him." "The life of the lowest mortal, faithfully recorded, would be interesting to the highest;

then how much more interesting when the mortal in question is already distinguished in fortune and natural quality so that his thinkings and doings are not significant of himself only but of large masses of mankind."

These words are peculiarly applicable to William Sargent Ladd, for the reason that he has made himself what he is. "Heaven helps those who help themselves" is a well-tried maxim, embodying in a small compass the results of vast human experience. The spirit of self-help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual, and exhibited in the lives of men it constitutes the true source of national vigor and strength. The lives of some men are almost equivalent to gospels—teaching high living, high thinking and energetic action for their own and the world's good. The valuable examples which they furnish of the power of self-help, of patient purpose, resolute working and steadfast integrity, issuing in the formation of truly noble and manly character, exhibit in language not to be misunderstood what it is in the power of each to accomplish for himself, and eloquently illustrate the efficacy of self-respect, in enabling men of even the humblest rank to work out for themselves an honorable competency and a solid reputation. He is a conspicuous example of what may be accomplished by one who, possessing native ability and actuated by a wholesome ambition, can achieve in the way of things that make a man powerful and respected. There are those who are respectable, but weak. There are those who are powerful and are not respected. The acquisition of influence in every department of life in the community in which he dwells manifests his intellectuality. His strict observance of the moral law, at any and all times, has been such that though he may be subjected to the envy of less successful neighbors, all concede to him a character above reproach. To say that he is without foibles would be to place him on a plane that no one

in the form of man has occupied save him who has been called "the only true and perfect gentleman." In his walk and conversation among men, if Mr Ladd has not lived fully up to this exemplar of christianity, it may be said that he has manfully striven, at least, to do so. His law of conduct in which his parents taught him, the bible, has ever been the lamp by which his feet have been guided. He has endeavored to do his full duty to his fellow-beings, not that he expects his reward in temporal credit, for such recognition is uncertain and unsubstantial. He has labored to be just and generous among men, while laying up for himself treasures where moths do not corrupt nor thieves break through nor steal; with conscience he has striven to meet his responsibilities on every hand. His charity, though beginning at home, has not ended there. While it has been impossible for him to hide the light of his charity altogether under a bushel and much is known of the good that he has done, by far the greater part of the blessings that he has bestowed must ever remain unrecorded and unknown save to himself; in many instances the simple "God bless you" of the unfortunate and needy has been his only reward, while oftener his beneficiaries have not known their benefactor. His children he has labored to bring up in the way they should go, and unquestionably he has succeeded. His ambition for them was, first of all, that they should be honest and true to themselves and just to others, and next that they should become useful and intelligent men and women in their sphere, respected and self-respecting citizens. His sons he warned at an early day against those evil associations that corrupt good manners, and his anxiety ever was to keep them, to use the words of St. James, unspotted from the world, not neglecting, however, those practical and material considerations which enter into the well-being of society. He would teach them the value of money by giving them actual lessons in earning a dollar. When, in the early days of Port-

land, less labor could be spared for the cultivation of extensive private grounds and dandelions were troublesome, he gave his sons such a lesson as is intimated, by setting them to pull up these weeds at a cent apiece or a dollar per hundred, and for other such like work as the lads were able to perform he paid them as he would have paid any one else hired for similar labor, inculcating in their minds a due observance of the terms of the agreement and paying them strictly in accordance therewith. We have seen something of the fruits of the care bestowed upon the children by himself and his wife, who was as zealous and as careful as himself in this serious duty. In their own conduct it was their chief aim to set them a proper example, which is so much more powerful than precept, especially among the young.

As merchant, he never misrepresented in order to sell, giving full weight and measure, and over rather than under. He never haggled. In all his experience as buyer or seller he was punctilious in having what belonged to him, and equally so that others should have what belonged to them. With him "business was business" strictly, and he was precise to the cent in his business figuring, and yet turn right around and give thousands to charity. His word on the street as merchant, banker, or in any transaction whatever, was always as good as his written obligation. Faithful, staunch and loyal in all his relations with others; a plain, practical, unassuming man, not puffed up nor conceited; economical of time, as quick in action as in thought, he is laconic, going directly to the pith of the matter in hand. Impatient of restraint and averse to circumlocution, his words at times may be short and sharp; not because of unkindness, however, but rather because delay or indirection is at war with his nature and habit. Unlike most men occupying such a place as he fills in the community, he is accessible to all, having no intermediaries between himself and the people, meeting strangers

with consideration and greeting old acquaintances with pleasant reminiscence. The hod-carrier is as much at liberty as the magnate to approach him.

Among men of affairs he is at home always, for he is a graduate in more than one branch of commerce. He is anything but pompous, pretentious or obtrusive anywhere. On the contrary, he is, like most men that are original, unconscious of his originality. In the days of his prosperity he does not forget his old associates. On occasional trips into the country it is his delight to meet with other pioneers who began the early struggle of life as his neighbors, to stop and talk with them about the times in the early fifties, and to exchange congratulations that the days of boiled wheat are over. Having thought less of things done than of the ways and means to do these things. he places a smaller estimate upon himself and his achievements than anyone else who studies him fairly,

Owing to his limited early education, and the lack of leisure for subsequent study, he feels a diffidence in meeting men of books, scientists or scholars; but, having overcome his hesitancy, people of culture find in him a fund of good sense and practical wisdom such, as Bacon says, is outside of books and above them; and they relish the sort of information that he can impart to them as much, perhaps, as he does the ideas he gets from them. Why should men of strength in letters and business stand apart? In what way the intellect required for success in business differs from that which commands success in science or art I confess I am unable to determine. I am convinced that the consummate man of business possesses capabilities that would have made him eminent in letters had his faculties been developed in that direction. In fact, men of business have won laurels in literature, and distinguished scholars have shown themselves to be excellent men of business. And, whatever else may be said, it goes without saying that the latter are the bone and sinew of the land.

and that they exercise the greatest influence in regulating and controlling the affairs of the states and nation, not only in bank or store, but in the legislatures and in Congress as well.

It must not be assumed that his way through life has been plain and easy. He has had his ups and downs, and he has not only had to struggle against the world, but he has had to contend for the mastery over himself. "But while he has had enough to encounter, there has been an inward force vouchsafed him whereby the pressure of things outward might be withstood. Obstruction abounded, but faith was not wanting. It is by faith that man removes mountains. While he had faith his limbs might be wearied with toiling, his back galled with bearing, but the heart within him was peaceable and resolved. In the thickest gloom there burnt a lamp that guided him. If he struggled and suffered he felt that it even should be so, knowing for what he suffered and struggled. Faith gave him an inward willingness, a world of strength wherewith to front a world of difficulty." It has been his lot to be tried as if by fire, and, perhaps, we would not know him as he is but for this ordeal.

He had been a ceaseless toiler from 1851 to 1875, unconscious that he was taxing his vitality unduly, and hence unable to appreciate the admonitions of his family and friends who observed that his health was failing. During the latter year he went east and was gone twelve months, but he did not consult physicians: he could not endure the idea that he was sick, and for the time his iron will sustained him. Leaving Chicago with a pleasant party, on their return trip he was jovial, as usual, but suddenly there was a change and he became quiet, as though endeavoring to repress symptoms of physical distress. "Don't you feel well?" asked his wife. "Not exactly," was his considerate reply. Whether he realized at that moment that a shadow had fallen upon his life, no one

but himself knows. Never complaining, he reached San Francisco and by that time his lower limbs were so much affected that he walked only with the greatest difficulty. Physicians advised him to return east for treatment. His mind was made up to return to Portland, but on account of the ice blockade in the Columbia river, he was detained in San Francisco three months. After reaching Portland he remained there until the autumn of 1876, when, having had another stroke of paralysis, he went to Philadelphia, his wife accompanying him, and there subjected himself to the most heroic treatment under Doctor S. Wier Mitchell, an authority on nervous diseases. So obstinate was his struggle, so determined was the strong man not to yield up his strength that he submitted to everything that seemed to offer any hope of restoring him to health, but in vain, and he lost permanently all use of the limbs affected. This stroke coming upon him in the full flower of manhood and vigor was a great cross to him, doubtless the greatest that he has ever had to bear. He could not at first command sufficient philosophy or Christian resignation to accept the inevitable and bow in submission. The affliction seemed greater than he could bear, but in the darkest hour of distress words of light and consolation came to him from scripture: Whomso the Lord loveth he chasteneth. During his convalescence a poor laboring man, as if sent by providence as a messenger of peace, came up and greeted him as he was seated in a warm sunny part of the elegant grounds about his house with every comfort at command, and told him of a similar affliction through which he had passed without money, without friends, and with no help. With his recovery his wonted good-humor and cheerfulness returned, though at times when the memory of his former vigor comes upon him and he recalls the satisfaction of moving about in the pride of his former manhood, he has to have recourse again to that philosophy which is the

spirit of his religion. It is a grand spectacle of fortitude, resignation, and power that he presents at this time attending to the details of his tremendous enterprises, with intense and unimpaired intellectuality: a majestic exemplification of patience triumphing over suffering; his limbs failing him, he walks upon his courage. Surely such a man may stand before kings.

In closing this study, so rich in good lessons, I have only to remark how pleasant it would be if we were in possession of as much information regarding Daniel Ladd, of whom no sufficient record is left for the enlightenment of his descendants. Were the study of his life before me I can fancy what charm there would be in comparing the details of his colonization experiences on the eastern seaboard in the sixteenth century, with those of his exemplary scion on the western shore in the nineteenth century.

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